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1971-03Mar28	Free all political prisoners! Repeal the Public Order Act!
1972-08AugE2	Towards Gay Liberation by Randy Notte and Ian Mackenzie ( <i>From Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes</i>
1972-99-FULL	(undated) R.Dowson: The NDP and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada:
1973	The collapse of our NDP work in Ontario ("by H.K."-unknown pseudonym).
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1978-07July	Open Letters to NDP Ward 6 re Municipal candidates
1983003Mar.	<i>Title pamphlet</i> : Draft manifesto for the NDP by the Ontario Left Caucus
1983003Mar	(text) Manifesto Ontario NDP Left Caucus
1983-04Apr-00a	<b>NDP Anti-War Newsletter</b> : NDP should be in Disarmament Movement
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#### LEFT CAUCUS NEWSLETTERS (to 1994)

1988-02Feb-LC-1	<b>ONDp Left Caucus Conference</b> : H.Kopyto: “Debate on Free Trade.”
1988-02Feb-LC-2	(from ONDP Left Caucus Newsletter) No independence without socialism
1991-03Mar-1	The March ONDP Convention – Where now? (LC report-GD&HK)
2000-10Oct-1	Base des idées communistes (LCR-France)

Untitled report of the PC (Political Committee) and the NC (National Committee) of the SEL (Socialist Educational League) dated Oct.6/55 by Ross Dowson

The main document adopted by our 1954 convention in reply to the liquidationism of our Canadian Pabloists (*followers of the Fourth International faction around Michel Pablo –ed.*),, rejecting the concept that the CCF would be transformed by mass pressure into the party of the Canadian proletarian revolution, stated that “the mass revolutionary party in Canada will be forged in the process of a whole series of splits, unifications, expulsions.” Elsewhere in the same document it was stated, “In the course of the exhaustion of the progressive possibilities of the CCF there will be splits, expulsions, reunifications, splits.”

The predictions of expulsions have come to pass sooner than we expected and in a way that was unexpected by us. This last Spring a series of expulsions took place in the East — our expulsions. The basic forces of our movement in the East were cut out of the CCF by the right wing. While through an effective principled. struggle we were able to neutralize about third of the delegates to the Ontario convention and in one case win the support of about a quarter of the delegates we were unable to prevent the expulsion. We were unable to consolidate any viable support in the movement.

In the West while harassed and molested by the right, thanks to the protection of a broad left tendency in the movement, our forces remain intact in the CCF. There the broad left has been suffering setbacks. As a whole there has been a further dissipation of the left’s forces. But our basic cadres remain inside the CCF and the CCF continues to provide us with a milieu for work. In the East while some progress has been registered in the rebuilding of our forces in the CCF, our basic cadre is out of the movement. Despite efforts to continue to work in the constituency clubs where we met a certain favorable response after the expulsions, the leadership has been successful in developing a hostile atmosphere and we are increasingly being prevented from working in and around the movement. Two comrades not even directly involved in the expulsions have been informed by a club which was not hostile even at the peak of the struggle that should they attempt to attend meetings in the future they will be barred at the door.

In support of proposals to adjust our work in the direction of certain semi-independent activities, our last convention recorded that the CCF in the East had undergone a considerable decline, that within the constituency organizations there was no material for the building of the revolutionary vanguard party, that our forces were being required to utilize the movement to move out and make contact with new layers of workers. With the expulsions even this line of action has been cut off. Our forces left in the CCF are unable to initiate activities. The movement has continued to decline.

Our forces in the East have been barred from the CCF and it is apparent that they will be barred for a considerable time to come. The limited forces that we still have in the CCF are isolated by the continued rightward course of the movement, the demoralization of the membership, and the failure of the movement to recruit any new blood. In effect what constituted an entry into the CCF has resulted in the East in extremely limited fraction work and under very unfavorable conditions. This situation is going to prevail for some time — until a new upsurge of the workers thrusts them into attempting to utilize for their purposes the instruments that are at hand.

It is apparent that Canadian Trotskyism has now either to re-evaluate its whole orientation to the CCF (its estimation of the line of march of the Canadian workers) or; to adopt new forms of work that

will meet the changed circumstances that confront it and will permit it to carry forward its orientation to the CCF. We think that the latter course is the one to be followed.

We decided to make an entry into the CCF not just because our forces were small in the absolute sense; while a party in that we possess a program distinct from all others we did not have the forces to play the role that the Canadian workers expect of a party. We decided to enter because we were isolated, small, in the relative sense also, in relation to the class conscious development of the Canadian workers and western farmers and the direction of this development to the CCF. Our expulsion in the East has not changed this in any way.

The CCF (*Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner to the NDP*) has continued to swing further to the right and decline, in electoral support, in club membership, and in level of activity. As much as the Coldwell leadership has promoted this process, fundamentally this is a reflection of the whole rightward moving course, the general decline and apathy of the labor movement. We have no cause to question our past opinion that the CCF reflects the first strivings of the class into independent class politics and that the working class in this country will in all probability as a class go through a CCF experience, if only a short one. The progressive possibilities of the CCF have not been exhausted by our expulsions.

Prior to the expulsions, and at an increased tempo since, our Eastern forces have been moving out more openly into semi-independent activities. Last Spring we held a series of forums; through one of them we provided a couple of the expelled an opportunity to publicly defend themselves against the CCF bureaucracy's slanders. Following the provincial election defeat we drew up a leaflet over the name of one of the expelled and circulated it on a fairly broad scale. But so far these moves have been of a somewhat empirical nature and have pointed up all kinds of contradictions. The public forums were held under the auspices of two individuals, one a well known Trotskyist, the other the most known of the expelled. This sufficed for a couple of forums but soon one must have other speakers. It is difficult to capitalize on forums when no organization sponsors them. Despite their relative anonymity and the limited discussion circle perspective that the forums tended to project, a few persons came our way. They soon came in contact with the peculiar situation of the bookstore and the forums and classes held in the hall — these elaborate facilities supposedly owned and open for the use of certain persons thanks to the generosity of a certain individual. Anyone with any political experience not to speak of normal sensitivity, soon felt that there was something more behind all this than appeared on the surface. This contradiction between our semi-independent activities and the organizational forms dictated by other needs has compromised our relations with persons who despite it all did manage to move towards us — setting up an atmosphere of suspicion, lack of mutual confidence, etc. But of course the primary contradiction is that, cut off from building our movement through the CCF organizations at this time, we have remained fixed on organization forms that restrict our coming into contact with the very layers of workers upon whom we count to build our movement.

Now we must seriously come to grips with the changed situation that confronts us and bring our activities and organizational forms into harmony with these changed situations.

In order to carry out our orientation to the CCF, in order to rebuild our forces within the CCF, we are required to move out into organized independent activity. At this stage of the class struggle the cadre of the revolutionary party cannot be built from within the CCF both because of the decline of the movement and our expulsion from it. The CCF is not now a source of recruitment to the cadre, nonetheless our forces in the CCF must be built up. We must have an effective force in the CCF that will know how to effectively meet the influx of worker-militants that will come with the next upsurge

— that can prepare the ground for the possible re-admission of our presently expelled forces. This force can only be built on the basis of independent activity.

The human material with which the vanguard party is to be built is not now going to the CCF and what element that does, does not stay within in the organized movement for there is no left wing at present that can give it any perspective. Increasingly wider layers of workers, not yet a viable force, are getting to understand the treacherous class collaborationist role of the Coldwell leadership of the CCF. The CCF leadership has over the past years betrayed the cause of socialism, its theoretical precepts, the long range interests of the class, countless numbers of times. They are now even betraying the workers at their present level of consciousness and understanding. They did so when Coldwell and three other CCF M.P.s (*elected Members of Parliament*) defied a national convention and national council position to vote for German re-armament which a Gallop Poll revealed was opposed by % of the population. A critical and distrustful attitude to the CCF is being built up in the minds of worker-militants. But there are no signs that labor political action will take another course — that it will move in another direction without a full scale test of the CCF.

In order to carry out our entry in 1952 we were compelled by the anti-democratic character of the CCF to abandon publication of our press, to create the appearance of having completely dissolved the party and to adopt illegal organizational forms. The new situation confronting us compels us to reconsider all these actions.

The illegal organizational forms that we were compelled to adopt in order to achieve our purposes now stand frontally in the way of the gathering of the cadres, for the mass Trotskyist party of the Canadian revolution. They stand frontally in the way of carrying out the CCF orientation which under different conditions they were first adopted to implement. They have turned into their opposite. To carry out our orientation today we must move out more into the arena of independent activity.

The organization of our forces as an independent party with CCF work having the status of faction work (*as opposed to long-term non-split fraction work -ed.*), designed to feed us with information and pick off the odd advanced worker that we might contact, would be contrary to our whole evaluation of the probable course of development of the Canadian working class. Organizational forms must serve political ends. We do not want to appear as an opponent political party to the CCF, challenging the CCF for hegemony over the working class movement. We want to appear as the socialists, as the leaders of the opposition to Coldwell's treacherous misleadership of the working class. We do not look upon the CCF as a place for smash and grab faction work but the area where the struggle for the hegemony of the class will unfold. We do not desire to strip the CCF of revolutionaries other than a few left for reconnaissance purposes, to empty it of what revolutionary content it may have. We desire to build and strengthen the revolutionary forces in the CCF, to lead the masses in struggle for the leadership, for the control of the mass movement, knowing quite well that the revolutionary leadership cannot remain in these petty bourgeois, non-Bolshevik forms and that the bureaucracy will not permit them to do so. To reorganize our forces as an independent party would only play into the hands of the CCF leadership. It would make it all the more easy for them to isolate us from the working class movement at its present level of development. It would in a sense amount to our voluntarily isolating ourselves.

Should we meet the need to move more outward by attempting to erect in front of the illegal organizational forms we are now maintaining, another organization — a sort of front? Our responsibility as revolutionaries is to build the revolutionary vanguard party. The presently illegal organization is the vanguard in its present state of development. To answer the question as to whether

we should erect some kind of legal front one must answer the question "what would we gain from the point of view of building the vanguard?" What would be the program, the general aim of such an organization? Whom could we expect to attract to it other than the immediate contacts that we now have? There is no discernable motion of unattached layers of workers who could be corralled by some limited program of a revolutionary character or action. The whole climate today is against it. The first evidence against this is the lack of a functioning left wing of any kind at any political level in the Eastern CCF and the complete isolation of the Trotskyists within the CCF. The same situation prevails in the trade unions, showing that the situation in the CCF is not an anomaly. To attempt to carry out semi-independent work through the setting up of another organization and maintaining the cadre organization as it is now would place a profitless strain, through duplication of meetings etc., etc. on our limited forces.

The organizational form that is most suitable to our needs at this time, that will be the most favorable instrument for the building of the vanguard party, would be the illegal organization operating openly as an educational league. Organized as a league we would have all the freedom of movement of the independent party but at the same time our true relationship to the CCF would be expressed.

The primary role of the league will be propagandistic (educational), through forums, a press, magazine and pamphlet sales, election participation where thought practicable, etc. It will be oriented to the CCF. Through whatever avenues at its disposal the league will give leadership to the left currents in the CCF, it will attempt to be the spokesman of the left, sharpening up the criticism of the Coldwell leadership, advancing our transitional program. Presenting itself as the CCF Left Opposition, the League will have great political flexibility around the principled program of Trotskyism.

On the basis of its independent activities, which will be carried primarily by those who have been barred from working in the CCF, the league will appeal to those workers who are coming to understand the treacherous role of the CCF reformist leadership and program. It will appeal to dissident elements in and around the Stalinist LPP and workers who want an alternative to both the CCF and the LPP (*Labor Progressive Party -- Stalinist*).

Since its main field of operations will be in and around the CCF and amongst militants who tend to gravitate towards the union political action committees, the CCF leadership will soon label the league as an opponent political party. In the interest of the security of our forces known membership in the league will be of necessity limited to those barred from the CCF. Since the league will not want to play into the right wing's hands it will have no formal international affiliation. Fraction work in the CCF will be one of the main activities of the league. It will meet the expansion and contraction of the opportunities for fruitful work in the CCF with the appropriate deployment of its forces. All who can possibly do so, including those attracted to the league on the basis of its independent work, will hold membership in the CCF. Through the work of its fraction the league will gain new recruits. Though the league the strategy of the socialist opposition to the Coldwell reformist policies will be hammered out and applied.

Our convention last year, pointing up the historically unprecedented absence of a revolutionary socialist press in this country, decided we should publish a series of pamphlets. To be published over the name of one of the known leading comrades they were to serve as a substitute for a paper in view of the fact that "such a project (as a paper) would require some sort of apparatus of a formal character which it would not be advisable to set up at this time when it would be so vulnerable to the disciplinary action of the mass movement's leadership." These pamphlets were to put forward the

full Trotskyist viewpoint. At the same time we decided to attempt to publish from the West Coast what would ultimately be a cross-Canada left CCF press. We thought that the native left wing in BC would provide us with a base and prominent BC left wingers would provide us with a cover. Various difficulties in the East have frustrated our attempts to publish the planned pamphlets. The treachery of the leading left wingers on the West Coast has frustrated the publication of a left CCF press.

Both efforts would have had an unfortunate anonymity about them. The league will not only provide us with the necessary organizational structure to publish and circulate a paper. The league will provide us with an organization which can profit by, which can be the center around which will gravitate those who find themselves in ideological agreement with the views of the paper.

The comrades in the East are in a position to provide the apparatus for the publication of a monthly tabloid. They are also in a position to provide the paper with a sufficient circulation base to make it well worth the effort of ceasing to rely entirely upon the southern press (*the SWP Militant* —ed.) and, of publishing a paper of our own. Nationally our movement should be able to finance the paper without having to function on a crisis basis.

Due to the fact that the West in toto is still able to function within the CCF their participation in the circulation of the press will be somewhat curtailed. For instance it would probably unwise at this time that they distribute it at public functions, that is, publicly identify themselves with it other than as persons who think that it advocates many good ideas. They would of course take subscriptions for it from interested persons. They would circulate it with care amongst persons who seem to be interested. They would provide us with contact lists for sample mailing. It will be of great aid to them in developing contacts for it will be able to say all that they are circumscribed from saying.

What will the line of the press be? It will be the Canadian press of world Trotskyism. It will be directed towards the building of the league which is gathering the cadre of the mass revolutionary party of the future. It will support and identify itself with all progressive tendencies within the CCF. It will present itself as the voice of the left wing. It will, while giving support to the CCF, ruthlessly lay bare and criticize from its socialist viewpoint every treachery committed by the CCF and its leadership. In general it will be similar to Labor Challenge after 1948 when we concluded that the CCF had become the Canadian form of the labor party. There will be adjustments in so far as it will only be a monthly with a smaller format, in so far as we are not formally a section of the Fourth International, etc., etc.

The CCF continues to move to the right and decline. There is no cause for as to conclude from this that the line of march of the Canadian workers will not go through the CCF. But it must be recognized that new possibilities for the independent growth of the Trotskyist movement are developing. While the class collaborationist policies of the leadership have demoralized many CCF card holders and caused them to drop out of the movement, they have rendered, a much more limited strata it is true, susceptible to the influence of our class struggle program. Many workers who have never joined the organization but who consider themselves to be CCFers have developed the most critical attitudes to the movement — attitudes that make them susceptible to the influence of a league oriented to the CCF.

In this period, before the workers move forward in an attempt to give their content to the CCF, we have an opportunity to strengthen our forces, to add to our numbers, to heighten our own political understanding, to more broadly disseminate our views. This can best be done organized as an independent league. The greater success in this the more quickly will be the evolution of the Canadian

workers to the program of the socialist revolution and the instrument of that program, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

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The PC and NC have already had a preliminary discussion on some of the immediate aspects of the above proposals. In the discussion of the name of the league there were two suggested — The Socialist Educational League and The League for Socialist Action. The first was the most favored. Three names were suggested as suitable for the paper — The Socialist, The Voice of Socialism and Socialist Action. The latter was the most favored.

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*(The first issue of Workers Vanguard was published in December 1955 – ed)*

# ***BOSSES' SIREN SONG***



# **WHERE IS THE CCF GOING?**

# **Liberals-Tories Say Election Spells CCF Doom**

All during the provincial election campaign the **Toronto Daily Star** pressured the CCF to commit suicide by dissolving itself into the bosses' Liberal Party. Following election day the **Star** headed one of its editorials THE CCF: BARELY BREATHING. In ghoulish tones and with mock sympathy the editors comment "**the CCF managed to stave off extinction in yesterday's election and that was about all . . . indeed many supporters of the CCF must be wondering today whether their party has any future in this province.**"

Has the CCF a future in this province? We say YES! Certainly the ideas which brought its founding members together in Regina in 1933 have a future! Of course there are good grounds to seriously question this from the returns of this provincial election.

In 1948 the CCF won 466,000 votes. Since 1948 the number of persons eligible to vote in Ontario has increased considerably. But in 1951 126,000 persons who had previously voted CCF did not do so. This election registered another drastic fall-out—a further drop of 53,000 votes. In the industrial area of Toronto and Yorks over 23,000 who had voted CCF in 1951 did not do so this election.

Let's face it! These figures certainly do register a tragic decline in CCF support. This decline in electoral support is directly reflected in the constituency organizations of the party which, with but few exceptions, are in a feeble condition. No one vitally interested in the future of the CCF, in the future of independent political action by labor and the struggle for a socialist society, has cause to deny this. It is only through a fearless examination of these developments and all the related facts—without prejudice—that we can hope to rectify the situation.

CCF party leader Donald MacDonald credits his own victory in York South to good organization in that riding—and blames lack of organization for the defeat of so many other CCF candidates.

But this hardly begins to answer the question. Were none of the campaigns in other Toronto ridings well organized? If not, why not? This explanation of the defeat only poses bigger questions. Why has the movement deteriorated organizationally from when it could win the overwhelming majority of the Toronto seats? Almost as if he wished to contradict MacDonald's argument Henry Weisbach, political action director of the CIO-CCL, has stated that there was more trade union participation in the CCF cause this election than ever before.

MacDonald takes another stab at the question—why the grave decline in CCF support. The fault is in the electorate themselves, he answers. The people have become cynical, cynical about political immorality and corruption; they are lacking in moral indignation. This explanation, too, raises many more questions than it answers.

Then there is Henry Weisbach's explanation of "apathy." All CCF canvassers, poll workers, noted the failure of persons who stated they were CCF voters, many of whom even put up CCF placards on their porches, to go to the poll to cast their vote. Apathy of the "working people" is the cause of the CCF decline, says Weisbach.

There certainly is apathy among the workers—but WHY we must ask? Why are thousands of workers who once voted CCF staying away from the polls. The CCF appears to have had the magic key in 1948. Then in 1951 apathy set in—WHY? Apathy continued to set in in 1955—WHY?

## **Opportunity Missed**

Following the war, in the 1945 election and continuing on to the 1948 election, the CCF was swept forward on the crest of a mighty wave. After the years of wartime sacrifice the working people moved forward to realize the better world that had been promised them. Armed with the experiences of their massive and heroic struggle with the bosses on the picket lines that stretched from coast to coast, the workers advanced onto the arena of political action.

The over all general conditions of the people of Ontario were better in 1948 than they are today. The economy was booming, there was no serious unemployment. But people had high hopes of building a better society. These hopes they identified with the CCF—a movement that in the pre-war thirties had appeared to them as being fundamentally different from the Liberals and Pro-

gressive Conservatives — a party of struggle, of principle, and of the working people.

Failure to take the government in one sweeping upsurge was a serious disappointment; however the CCF MPPs represented a strong bloc in the legislature. They had three years to deepen and consolidate the influence of the party. The CCF MPPs failed to do so—they failed to conduct themselves as genuine spokesmen of the working people, as a fighting opposition to the Tories.

## Leaders Drop Socialism

Unknown to the great majority of the people and to many party activists too, deep going changes had taken place within the CCF. The wartime years of collaboration with the government had softened the leadership of the party, causing many to question the fundamental principles upon which the party had been built.

*That is what has been behind the many differences that have broken out in the movement—the disagreement in policy on the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact, the Regina Manifesto and the new draft program, and just last winter on the question of the rearmament of the German ruling class which saw M. J. Coldwell and four MPs break with the rest of the CCF MPs, ignore convention directives, and support the government in this crime against the German people.*

Many of the leaders have come to question the need and the possibility of building a fundamentally different type of Canada—a socialist Canada. Socialism according to them is no longer public ownership of the basic means of production and production for use, but an undefinable moral and ethical concept. They have become liberal reformers of capitalism. It is the influence of the liberal reformist forces in the national leadership of the party and in the leadership of such sections as the Ontario section that permits Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent, with considerable truth, to call the CCF "Liberals in a hurry."

The present leadership of the CCF has wasted much of the goodwill that the working people had for it. In their rightward moving course and in their attempts to make the movement appear to be all things to all men, they have made it nothing to a great many. So, in the year 1955, with threatening and widespread unemployment, with the bosses stiffening up on the union front, when labor's forces should be beginning to mobilize we find the movement on the decline.

Thanks to the policy of the leadership, in this election campaign the CCF appeared no different from the Liberals and not fundamentally different from the Progressive Conservatives. Apathy?—is there any wonder. Lack of organization?—it would be surprising if it were otherwise.

This election campaign was launched in the Spring at the party's provincial convention. In the trade union conference that preceded the convention, in reply to a question about public ownership of a particular industry, Donald MacDonald said "Nationalization isn't in our program any more—the administrative problems are so big it would make it impossible." The leadership's main effort at the convention was to expel a sizeable group of members who had been opposing their rightward course and, through the expulsions, create an atmosphere in the clubs that would silence any other would-be critics.

Even this assault on the internal democracy of the party was utilized by the leadership to further their campaign to have the CCF appear in the public mind no different from the Liberals and Tories. Provincial president Parks told the press that the party had rid itself of some romantics—"romantic revolutionaries who have no place in the CCF." Others were quoted by the press as stating this move "will help us in the election. This will prove to the people who call the CCF communist that we are anything but that."

## No Program

The election program devised by the leadership was a modest one of liberal reforms—a point by point comparison with the Liberals' program left little to choose from. Even such traditional CCF demands as the 18-year-old vote and free university education were absent from it. It had nothing to say on union check-off legislation and anti-union certification and conciliation board red tape. Most of the planks were of such a character that many could reasonably believe, that in good time, a Liberal or Tory government would fulfil them.

Unemployment is widespread in Ontario but Donald MacDonald, around whom the entire campaign was developed, scarcely mentioned the problem. It was apparent that the party leadership had no program with which to meet it that was in any way different from the Tory promises of public works projects.

The very reason to be of the CCF is that the Liberals and Tories are parties of Big Business, the CCF a party of the

working people. So absent was this characterization of the Liberals and Tories from the campaign that the one time that MacDonald did raise it in Hamilton brought a shocked protest from the editors of the *Globe and Mail*.

The big issue in this election according to those who drew up the program was honest and efficient government. No attempt was made to show that highway overpayments and unreported campaign donations were an inevitable part of parties that defend the capitalist system of organized graft and corruption. The CCF was presented as having the monopoly on honesty and efficiency. Few believed it—it must be admitted that this is a claim quite difficult to prove to a critic. That honest and efficient government was not even AN issue in this election let alone THE issue was sharply brought home by the reelection of those immediately involved in the scandals, Minister of Highways Doucette and J. S. Dempsey.

The leadership of the party met with great success in their attempts to eliminate from the public mind all ideas that there was any fundamental difference between the CCF and the two capitalist parties. Important factors in this "success" were the full co-operation of the capitalist press and both the Liberals and the Tories. In their aim of eliminating the CCF from the scene the bosses found an unexpected ally in the CCF leadership. So successful were the CCF leadership that on June 5 a prominent member of the Quebec Tories suggested to his party convention that they should unite with the CCF.

Liberal party attempts to undermine CCF support with the seductive appeal to above all defeat their twin the Tories, instead of being sharply rejected were opportunistically picked up by provincial president Eamon Park. Suggesting that in some ridings in order to get rid of the Tories CCFers should vote Liberal, he stated "there is a great range of ridings where Liberals of this mind should vote for the CCF."

The provincial leadership went further along with this Liberal game by failing to place candidates in Perth and Stormont ridings where, in previous years, the CCF polled votes three and four times what it polled in other contested ridings, and by failing to run an official candidate in Middlesex North and denouncing the CCF supporter who presented himself to the electorate as a

stooge placed in the running by the Tories to defeat the Liberals.

Some sections of the leadership and the party ranks although with doubts, have nonetheless gone along with the opportunism of the Right wing. Instead of searching for new ways of interpreting the basic socialist program of the party, instead of attempting to develop a program that meets the present level of consciousness of the Canadian people and leads them to a socialist understanding, they have permitted the leadership to hack away at and undermine the very foundations of the movement.

They think that the industrial worker, having no alternative, will continue to give their vote to the CCF. They hope that the Right wing's diluted version of the program may perform the magic trick, may make the party acceptable and attract the support of more conservative layers of the population.

This whole policy has proven bankrupt in this election. Instead of winning new support to the party the leadership's opportunism has lost support that had been won in the past. Even worse, it has demoralized whole layers of former active party workers, the precious reserves upon which the future is built.

What is more it is apparent that there is a grave danger that their continued leadership will imperil the very existence of the party as a party of the working people. The tendency towards liquidation of the party into the Liberal Party is growing in the leadership. Ross Thatcher's desertion is only the beginning.

Over 286,000 working people, out of a feeling of duty and loyalty to their class, went to the polls and voted CCF. Hundreds of union activists, through their Political Action Committees, worked in the campaigns. Only a very small percentage of these workers have joined the party, have become active in the constituency clubs. They have left the movement in the hands of the leaders.

Time is running out. Intervene in the situation now!

Join the club in your riding. Participate in the determination of party policy!

Defend democracy in the movement! Demand the reinstatement of all those expelled for differences of opinion with the leadership!

Fight for a working class program, for a socialist policy!

Build a new CCF leadership!

With a federal election due in June, the Socialist Educational League faces the task of participating in the campaign in the most fruitful possible manner. Socialists have never looked upon elections just as a race for votes as the capitalist parties and reformists in the CCF do. The SEL, the organized conscious socialists in Canada, looks upon this campaign, as all elections, as an opportunity to advance, in the most effective way possible, our objective, the overthrow of capitalism. An election, even in a period of apathy and decline of the labor movement such as today, is a time of increased political interest among the population. We must take advantage of this fact. (..)

### "OUR CCF ORIENTATION"

The framework of our work at the present time is that of a revolutionary socialist league oriented to the working class as it is. More precisely, to the advanced workers who have already broken with capitalist politics. Concretely this means for the most part workers who at this stage support the CCF as their class party.

Our orientation was never based in the past, and is not based now, on any illusions that the CCF was a socialist party or was likely to become transformed into a vehicle for the socialist revolution in Canada. Our orientation is simply a recognition of the fact that the CCF is an elementary break from capitalist politics, supported by the advanced workers of Canada. In 1954, we restated our reasons for entry; (..) 1) the weakness and isolation of the independent party, 2) recognition that the course of development of the masses is through the CCF."

There was never any suggestion of political conciliation with the reformist leadership of the CCF in our entry. Our support is critical; we continue to present our socialist views to the advanced workers who support the CCF in a challenge to the reactionary policies of the present leadership.

(..)

### WHAT DID THE FORMATION OF THE SEL MEAN?

A year and a half ago, after a mass expulsion of our forces from the Ontario CCF we organized ourselves as a public organization, the Socialist Educational League, and began publishing the Vanguard. The immediate impulsion for this change in form of our organization, from a nameless semi-underground faction in the CCF, to a defined public body, was the expulsion of our most experienced people from membership in the Ontario CCF. We stated, just prior to the formation of the league, that we must "step up our political activity in the form of a variety of independent activities which will have the character not of an opponent political party in the eyes of worker-militants or serious socialist elements in the CCF, but rather the character of a left fraction which has been expelled from the CCF but wants to get back in."

We cannot confine ourselves entirely to appealing to elements now within the formal organization of the CCF. We have never viewed work in CCF clubs as adequate for our purposes. For years the CCF has been declining as an arena of political controversy. With the continued swing to the right by the opportunist leadership of the party, political life in the movement has been stagnating. Socialists have been leaving the movement in disgust. We must attempt to reach and influence those among them who have not become too demoralized by their experience in the CCF to respond. Many advanced workers, developing socialist consciousness, are not attracted to the CCF because of its adaptation to the status quo and because of the identity of its leadership with the trade union bureaucracy. These elements are not ready to form a new revolutionary party at this stage, but the

League with its critical support to the CCF as a Canadian expression of independent political action by labor is much closer to their level of consciousness. Our task at the present time is to assemble the cadre of the revolutionary left wing within the existing mass movement and the unions in preparation for the struggle to build a new revolutionary party.

#### THE CHARACTER OF OUR TORONTO ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The SEL has gone through two municipal election campaigns in Toronto since its formation. In those campaigns we ran candidates for the highest office. With a federal election coming up, we must analyze the character of these campaigns to avoid a formalistic approach to the federal election. In neither of the two election campaigns did we run against candidates of the CCF or those endorsed by the labor movement. The running of candidates was not in conflict with the orientation for a number of reasons. 1) Toronto municipal elections are of an officially non-partisan character, although virtually all candidates are of course backed by one or another of the political machines. 2) The official labor movement failed to present a slate against the boss parties who control the municipal administration.

We were able to run candidates not against the official labor movement, but as the only alternative to the Liberal-Tory administration, due to the failure of the labor movement to challenge them. Far from being against our orientation, by running, we advanced it in the sense of being spokesmen of the elementary demand of the workers for a labor administration. We intervened in the face of the refusal of the CCF to play its role as the party of the working class on the municipal field. We were all agreed at the time that it would have been against our orientation to run had the official labor movement and the CCF nominated a full slate. The only consideration at all that we gave to running against an official candidate was in the event of Controller Brand running for mayor. There was some question as to whether Brand had with his arch-reactionary stands, compromised himself in the eyes of the advanced workers, the CCF voters mainly, and was no longer considered a labor representative. Our running in that eventuality would have been based on an assessment of whether this was the case with the advanced workers. To have run against spokesmen of the CCF or those regarded as labor candidates by the labor movement as a whole, would have given the campaign a qualitatively different character, the character of an opposition party to the CCF and splitters of the labor vote.

The municipal election campaigns gave us a valuable opportunity to interpret our socialist program on the municipal level, something completely lacking in the platforms of the official labor candidates. Our advanced ideas were spread very widely and undoubtedly fell into the hands of many leftward moving workers, and had considerable influence on a small number. All these positive gains were made without damage to the orientation. In spite of the smears of the right wing leadership that we were not genuine labor candidates, our role and policies spoke for themselves before the advanced workers.

With a federal election due in June, we must take advantage of the campaign in the most fruitful manner to spread our socialist ideas and make contact with leftward moving workers. The campaign gives us an opportunity to spell out before the advanced workers just what we are; a revolutionary socialist league giving unconditional support to the struggle of the working class for a workers and farmers government, concretely, a CCF government. This unconditional support to the CCF against all other parties will in no way temper our political criticisms of the CCF leadership. Side by side with, and an indispensable part of our support to the CCF in the election, must be a full presentation of our socialist program, the program so lacking in the official organs and campaign material of the CCF. While supporting the CCF in the Vanguard, we must present to the advanced workers our program as a weapon, and the most effective weapon, in fighting for a real workers and farmers government, one that can really answer the needs of the Canadian workers.

WHAT WE CAN GAIN IN THIS ELECTION

This federal election gives us a great opportunity to advance the cause of socialism in Canada. We can spread our socialist program with door-to-door work with the Vanguard, and build our sub base. The Vanguard should give our socialist presentation and interpretation of the issues facing the Canadian people in the election, and point out the inadequacies of the program of the leadership. We must completely disassociate ourselves from the reactionary positions of the CCF brass and give our own principled position. We must spell out before the advanced workers and farmers in our press, the precise meaning of our orientation; our support for a workers' and farmers' government, combined with our revolutionary socialist criticism of the course and policies of the leadership of the party. The course of development of the class struggle in Canada is going to be in its next stages through and around the CCF or a labor party (the CCF on a broader base). We must arm those advanced workers both inside and outside the CCF with our Marxist arsenal of weapons to carry the struggle forward.

# Labor Party Endorsed By CCF Ntl Convention

By BRUCE FERGUSON

MONTREAL—The CCF national convention held here July 23-25 was dominated in all its discussions and deliberations by the Canadian Labor Congress' decision of last April to work for the building of a new, more broadly-based party to replace and encompass the CCF.

The last CCF national convention of two years ago was marked by the adoption of the notorious Winnipeg Declaration, which dumped the last vestige of a socialist perspective for the CCF. The right-wing leadership had hoped in adopting this declaration to broaden the base of the CCF and make it more acceptable to middle class elements and "backward" workers.

This year's convention followed on the heels of the March 31 electoral debacle of the CCF, which exposed the bankruptcy of the "Winnipeg" leadership and its policies. The perspective of a new political party in which CCFers could play a role, while at present rather vaguely defined, was the saving feature in a convention which would have been one of the most demoralized on record. The convention showed no sign of a genuinely critical analysis of the policies and principles of the party in light of the Tory sweep, which could have been curbed by the CCF posing a vital, dynamic, and socialist alternative.

The convention unanimously adopted a resolution after a four-hour discussion, welcoming the CLC political resolution and authorizing continued negotiations with the CLC and CCCL unions, farm organizations and other interested popular organizations and individuals.

In spite of the unanimous support to this course which could open up a whole new perspective for labor political action in this country, considerable fears and misgivings were expressed. The resolutions committee, through national president David Lewis, ac-

cepted an amendment calling for a full discussion within the CCF before any binding commitments be made flowing from any negotiations.

The leadership also allayed fears of some of the old-time rank and file members that the union apparatus would bureaucratically dominate the new movement, by statements from many prominent labor leaders that the labor movement had no intention of dominating the new movement.

Their statements, however, raised new fears among the remnants of a once-powerful socialist wing that found their way into the convention. "There is nothing in the resolution which places us as a class party," warned Margaret Erickson, Vancouver delegate. Another Vancouver delegate warned of the dangers of collaborating with elements from the bourgeois parties.

The majority of the convention was made up of longtime right wingers along with a scattering of union officials and middle class elements attracted by the liberal-reform program of the Winnipeg Declaration, to whom "left-wing" Liberals and "progressive" Conservatives would be a welcome addition.

Ontario leader Donald C. McDonald claimed that there are scores and scores of people in the Ontario Liberal Party "just waiting for our lead." Other important figures expressed similar hopes. Although the future is as yet uncertain as regards a new political party there is no doubt that sections of the right wing "liberal" leadership are looking towards collaboration with elements in the capitalist parties; to build a broader base at the expense of the

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# The Workers Vanguard

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## class independence of the workers.

Claude Jodoin, who addressed the convention on behalf of the CLC, although he welcomed the passing of the resolution, gave very little indication as to what progress was being made in actually building the new party. While reiterating the view that the CLC did not want to dominate any new political formation, he, too, expressed the hope that "Liberals with a small l and progressives from the Progressive Conservatives" would find a home in it. He called for unity and collaboration between all classes and sections of the population.

The entire convention, both right and left, supported the proposed new movement, as a way out of the present crisis of the CCF, and as a forward step in the progress of the working class movement. A few delegates, hoping that somehow the rightward course of the CCF could be reversed in time, favored the retention of a certain independence for the CCF to avoid its submergence in a completely fused new party. But the convention as a whole was apathetic to the future of the CCF as such.

The biggest failing of the convention was that it never came to grips in any way with the program and principles, and with the causes of the election defeat. Resolutions on basic principles, submitted by several clubs never came up for discussion. Debate on the program and principles of either the CCF or a new political formation, was replaced by platitudes by one right-wing spokesman after another that the new party would be based on fundamentally the same principles as the CCF was founded upon. Their complete identification of these founding principles with the liberal Winnipeg Declaration went unchallenged by the convention.

Two or three efforts to introduce debate on public ownership and a re-evaluation of principles were greeted with silence or quickly railroaded off the floor. Toronto union delegate Peter Metheus stated that the election defeat was not entirely due to circumstances, but to the abandonment of socialist principles. He called upon the convention to seriously come to grips with the many vital resolutions on the H-Bomb tests, the shorter work week, etc., submitted by clubs. Most of these resolutions never came up, or were replaced

## The New Labor Party

Sept 58

The resolution passed by the Canadian Congress of Labor convention and endorsed by the recent CCF national convention favoring a new party encompassing organized labor, farm organizations, the CCF, and other interested organizations and individuals, presents the perspective of mobilizing an ever-increasing number of workers onto the arena of independent labor political action and the building of a broader and stronger labor party that can become the government. It is on these grounds that class conscious workers support this development.

But it is on entirely different grounds that these resolutions have the support of the CCF and trade union leaderships. If there could still be any doubt about this a Montreal dispatch appearing in the August 17 issue of *Record*, bi-weekly organ of the International Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO) spells out their purpose.

"The Canadian unionists (read the TU brass) are not seeking a 'Labor Party' such as exists in Great Britain and creation of which has long been opposed (read by the trade union brass) in the United States. Instead, they are seeking a coalition of liberal groups in all levels of Canadian life that will draw the line sharply between liberals and conservatives regardless of party name."

Referring to CCF president David Lewis' contribution to the convention, the article reads; "He pointed out that labor leaders themselves were strongly in favor not of a 'labor party' as such, but a movement embracing all progressive groups."

But it is one thing for the CCF and trade union leaderships to state their purpose—and another thing for them to realize it.

A new liberal reform party just isn't in the cards. This path leads not to a third party in contest with the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives but into the Liberal Party itself, which, contrary to the obituaries that the CCF and trade union leaders have been reading over it, remains very much alive and more than strong enough to sweep the Claude Jodoins back into its maw, and, fat as they are, completely digest them. The decline and now the liquidation of the CCF under the Coldwell leadership is proof of this. In their rightward course over the years, which they formally summed up by the adoption of the Winnipeg Declaration, they transformed the CCF into what is essentially a liberal reform movement. Two federal elections have shown that this way, with the CCF undifferentiated from the Liberals and Tories and with even less dynamism than the latter, leads not to broader support, as it was designed to win, but to defeat.

History, the forces at work in society, aren't in harmony with the plans of the CCF-trade union brass. All the evidence is that the Canadian working people are moving into a period of sharpening class conflicts. There are valuable forces scattered across the country, (many of whom have a lengthy and commendable record of struggle within the CCF for a class policy) who are for a "Labor Party," such as exists in Great Britain, insofar as the BLP is a party which encompasses the class. In the period ahead they have an important role to play.

A great debate is unfolding in the ranks of the organizations of the working people of Canada. What kind of party do we need? What should its program be?

It must be based on the trade unions, the primary organizations of the working class. It requires a class struggle program—a program that defends and extends the interests of the working people and leads in the direction of the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in Ottawa and in the provinces.

A full and effective participation in this debate, while the labor party is in its formative stages can do much to shape its whole future development.

## Hunger Amidst Plenty

Sept 58

Starvation in Canada? With the stores loaded with the autumn harvest, food surpluses, eggs, cheese, milk, etc., bulging the government warehouses, wheat piled in the fields, the granaries filled to overflowing. Starvation! Absurd, there is obviously no need!

But a jobless immigrant youth is picked up in a city lane gnawing on a piece of bologna he had seized through a store window he had smashed—he hadn't eaten for days. An incident you say—there are government and private welfare bodies that, had he asked, would have helped.

The clamor and empty talk that fills the commons died down for a few moments last month as a tale of horror came from the lips of the member from Mackenzie River. Fourteen nameless Eskimos starved to death on the Barren Lands late last winter, according to a government autopsy. They ate their own clothing in a desperate struggle to stay alive. Death by starvation came to nine other Eskimos in 1957.

The Eskimos are wards of the federal government—a government which in the construction of the Distant Early Warning Line knew no difficulty that couldn't be overcome. Whole towns, bulky, heavy equipment, hundreds of personnel and everything necessary to their comfort, regardless of weather, regardless of cost were planked down on the Arctic waste. Yet the members heard the minister of northern affairs orate on the difficulties of transporting a handful of Eskimos into settlements, moving a few buildings, and staffing them with RCMP constables who always get their man but who could not assure the department that a family group just 20 miles from a food cache might not starve to death.

Twenty-three Eskimos starved to death! Callousness, administrative inefficiency, a crime even, but still an incident, you say.

A few weeks later the member from Skeena brings information to the house on a government policy—a starvation policy. Any of its thousands of Indian wards on relief should, according to the government, be able to live on \$10.47 worth of food a month. That is what an Indian in the Skeena riding found the specified ration list for one month, which includes a mere \$2.50 worth of meat or fish and two pounds of sugar, etc., totalled up to in a local grocery store.

The member pleaded with the government for a royal commission of enquiry to "at least show the Indian people that the government is sincerely interested in their affairs." But it is obvious that the government isn't really interested in the Eskimos and the Indians. And it isn't really interested in the hundreds of thousands of jobless Canadians and their families in the industrial communities across the land not any more than it is forced to be concerned. Their insurance credits used up, emergency benefits cut off late this spring, these jobless Canadians have been left with no visible means of support. They, too, have been left to starve—or there is a nicer name—suffer serious malnutrition.

The government has troubles of its own—finding funds for a Queen's visit, for military contracts. It's not that it is insensitive to human suffering. But men and women are labor power and there is more than can be profitably utilized. At times labor is valuable to capital. At other times it is valuable only to itself. Charity is no solution. This is how the system operates.

This is why it must be replaced—by another system—one where labor is supreme, where this precious source of all value works with all the planned resources of society at its disposal, in voluntary cooperation. This society has been called socialism and it is on the march.

***Out of CLC -CCF conferences must come***

**A LABOR PARTY, NOT LIBERAL-LABOR COALITION**  
by ROSS DOWSON

(from Workers' Vanguard, October 1958)

What will come out of the political action decision of the Canadian Congress of Labor which was subsequently endorsed by the CCF (*Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the farmer-labor party established in 1933, precursor to the NDP ed.*) national convention? Will the next federal election see a powerful new party enter the contest a party uniting in its ranks the workers in basic industry, in fabricating, clerical workers a party based on the million and a half strong trade union movement, attracting to its side the organizations of the working farmers, a class party, seeking to establish a workers' and farmers' government.

Such a party would conform to the realities of the Canadian scene. Canadian society and the Canadian people are divided along class lines. At the one pole stand a tiny handful — Canada's 50 Big Shots — who dominate and control through a complex of corporations and financial institutions the vast wealth and productive capacity of the nation. At the other pole stand those who work the machines, who toil in the mines, fish the deeps, thresh the grain — the millions of salary and wage workers and dependents.

Capital, to reinforce and mask its class rule of Canada, has not one but three parties — the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberals and Social Credit. Labor was served by the CCF, no matter the seriousness of its shortcomings, for a whole period. Now the working people of Canada are on the verge of stepping out onto a new path. Will they shape out a mass class party that will prepare the ground for a socialist Canada in a socialist world?

The Canadian people have the capacity to form such a party. And an easy birth will assure the growth of the embryo into the man. But many forces that would strangle it at its birth or distort and deform it in its formative stages stand in the way. First and foremost are the capitalist class and all their stooges and apologists with vast accumulations of wealth and all the organs of communication — the press, radio, TV at their disposal.

With studied hypocrisy they shout dire predictions of what will arise from a labor party. BC Tory leader Deane Finlayson, for instance, warns; "If people of one segment of society are set against another we will only get ourselves involved in an archaic, chaotic and unholy social war that will leave the country prostrate."

If not the life, the development of the infant party in its formative stages is threatened by those who are the main attendants at its birth — the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress and the CCF who, despite the fact that they head up organizations of a distinct class character — would deprive the party that is being born of its birthright.

The semi-retired CCF national leader, M. J. Coldwell, when hailing the CLC

resolution remarked that "the convention did not envisage a political movement on a narrow class basis" and expressed confidence that the new movement would adopt a philosophy "not narrowly farm, labor or representative of any sectional interest." CLC (*formerly CCL*) president Claude Jodoin, addressing the CCF convention called for unity and collaboration between all classes and sections of the population, expressing the hope that "Liberals with a small 'l' and progressives from the Progressive Conservatives" would find a home in it.

The CLC and CCF brass' opposition to the new party having a distinct class character is formidable. But even this does not complete the roster.

In contravention of the CLC resolution, which calls for the broadest participation of all individuals and groups, former CCF whip and now CLC vice-president Stanley Knowles has issued a statement barring the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Fishermen's Union and the Labor Progressive Party (*the name adopted by the Stalinist Canadian Communist Party since World War 2 –ed.*) from the joint CLC-CCF conferences being held in BC. CLC vice-president William Dodge has added the UE (United Electrical Workers union) to the list of those banned from the conferences being held in Northern Ontario late this month. One might suspect from this high handed and autocratic action that the LPP and Mine Mill are opposed to the policy of the right wing CCF and trade union brass — that they favor a distinctly class party, a labor party and a workers' and farmers' government. Such is not the case.

In order to add moral weight to the constitutional arguments that he used to silence delegates to the Vancouver conference who protested the exclusion of Mine Mill, BC Federation head, George Home, reported that the political action resolution adopted by the Western District convention of that week placed Mine Mill in opposition to the whole purpose of these conferences.

At the Mine Mill Convention, Trail delegate Al King, who presented the resolution to the delegates on behalf of the Committee, expressed fear that the CCF-CLC action would result in a new "party" — a farmer-labor party, he warned. The resolution adopted in principle and referred to the national convention points out that "Mine Mill has clearly established its position that the trade union movement should not be tied to any one political party." It attempts to interpret the loosely worded CLC resolution as projecting not a party but "a new political alignment" which will pose not a workers' and farmers' government but an undefined "alternative government" to the present Liberal, Tory and Social Credit governments, with the modest objective of "bringing about changes in Victoria."

Hal Griffin, managing editor of the West Coast LPP press, the *Pacific Tribune*, in articles appearing in the September 12 and 19 issues, spells out the LPP position.

While it is only by its being based on the trade unions, the primary organs of the working class, that the class character of the new party is assured, Griffin argues against a

"labor-based party." Griffin's prescription is a "broader approach to unity," he is for a "strong, popular movement."

To the task of building a party, a political organization with a program that demarks it from all others and which presents itself as a distinct political force in contest with all others for political office, Griffin counterposes the creation of a "popular alternative." The whole concept of a party is anathema to Griffin. According to him the CCF lost its dynamism, not when it squandered away its precious class program but much earlier, when it became a party in 1933.

"The CCF itself was launched as a movement in 1932. Then increasingly the anti-unity policies of the right wing leadership prevailed. The CCF lost its dynamic qualities as a movement and crystallized as a party. But in the years 1933-41 it fell far short of government office."

And if the formation of a party as against a "popular movement," and a "popular alternative" isn't bad enough, that it be a "labor based party" would be tragedy compounded upon disaster. Despite the fact that in the days of the Socialist Party and the Canadian Labor Party there was no wide or deep labor movement in BC that the pioneer socialists could anchor onto and mobilize for support, Griffin absurdly attempts to make out that it was their correct attempt to be "labor-based" that was the source of their "failure."

"It is an historical fact," he writes, "that every labor-based party in this province from the old Socialist Party through the Federated Labor Party, and the Canadian Labor Party, to the CCF, has fallen short of government majority by its failure or inability to win major support among the farmers in the decisive rural constituencies."

Griffin's talk about mobilizing "all progressive elements," about a "broad concept of unity," and his attempts to present a labor party as narrow and sectarian, works on the illusion that effective politics in the interests of the working people will be realized by the simple process of adding up numbers of socialists, reformists, liberals with a small "1", progressives from the Progressive Conservatives. The LPP's "popular movement" (coalition is the proper word for it) would be a composite of different class forces. Any policy agreed upon by the conflicting class forces in the coalition would of necessity always be to the right and at the expense of the real position of the socialist and labor wing.

Far from strengthening its position, labor, as part of such a coalition, would be consistently weakening and compromising itself. With the right momentarily threatening to desert to join those forces that more accurately and consistently express its views the...coalition would be continually threatening to blow apart, and under crisis could not possibly hold together. The only cement in such a coalition, would be the compromise and capitulation of the left wing to preserve unity.

The policy now being advocated by the LPP is the discredited anti- American Peoples

Coalition which Buck (*LPP-CP Stalinist leader --ed.*) wrote would even encompass capitalists — "those capitalists (sic!) who put the interests of the nation before profit." It is the Popular Front (*multi-class action strategy of Stalinist fame submitting labor to bourgeois or petty-bourgeois coalitions --ed.*) of the Thirties which we were told was going to stop war and fascism but which history records did neither. It's a warmed over hash of the LPP's post-war Liberal-Labor coalition which the Buck leadership said it repudiated following the Khrushchev revelations.

When everything is boiled down it is apparent that the position of the LPP is only a high falutin', sophisticated, theorized version the opportunistic tendencies expressed by Jodoin and Coldwell. There just isn't any substitute for a labor party based on the unions and oriented towards the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government.

*(end)*

*Pamphlet \* Outlines Interrelations of:*  
**THE SOCIALISTS AND THE NDP**

By ROSS DOWSON

*(from Workers' Vanguard, June 1962 -- Title: "What the LSA is, and what it stands for")*

The publication of this pamphlet is certainly timely. With the federal election there is an intense interest in what the New Democratic Party is. The opponents of the NDP are attempting to create a public image for it — "from the capitalist-reformist Liberals, who at times cuddle up to it and present it as a futile if well meaning movement, to the Social Crediters (*right-wing populist party in Alberta, B.C. and Quebec --ed.*) who damn it as the thin edge of an international totalitarian conspiracy. Those who won the day and assumed the leadership of the NDP following the intense policy debates at the founding convention, through many leaflets issued in the name of the party, through speeches by federal leader Douglas and candidates, are also giving a specific image to the party.

While the purpose of this pamphlet is to explain what the League for Socialist Action is, of necessity it defines what the NDP is. It characterizes the NDP as a labor-farmer party, a party of the working people which projects the possibility of taking the power out of the hands of the capitalist class and eliminating once and for all the recurring depressions spawned by capitalism, of eliminating its wars, and ushering in a new world of peace and plenty. To achieve this aim the LSA is of the opinion that the party must be won to a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

While the NDP presents a more or less united face to its capitalist opponents it is composed of widely differing currents, tendencies, and alliances. The political spectrum within the NDP is a wide one. It ranges from Liberals who are disillusioned with the official machine, trade union bureaucrats who see political action as a substitute for on-the-job action, to trade union militants, utopians of various types, to socialists.

At the founding convention the alignments were sharp around such crucial issues as the rights of the delegates versus the authority of the official committees, the question of public ownership, support of NATO, etc. And this didn't exhaust the situation. Even within the forces of the old gang who frittered away the CCF, and the top trade union brass, there were cleavages over who should get this or that post. As if from out of nowhere slates appeared for the various offices up for election. For some the struggle over posts and the rewards of office was more important than the program of the party and actually determined their position in the votes on policy.

Everyone knows that these alignments, blocs, caucuses existed at the founding convention. To claim that they no longer exist would not only be fraudulent but would be to characterize the NDP as a sterile, and not a living body. Every provincial convention since then has been the scene of maneuverings — the less political, the less principled in character, the more intense and bitter.

The fact that these forces do not declare themselves publicly is obviously not in any way proof of their non-existence. On the contrary it only testifies that they are constituted on such a basis that fears to face honest public scrutiny. To hide their existence, to create an atmosphere of semi-illegality, does not moderate or eliminate differences in the party, it only intensifies them, distorts their character and renders their resolution in the interests of the working class more difficult.

One of the chief merits of the League for Socialist Action is that it cuts through all this hypocrisy and deception by declaring its existence openly, and publicly announcing its aims and objectives. This pamphlet outlines the tasks before the party as seen by this socialist caucus.

Strange to say this open and above-board policy has only infuriated the right wing of the party. Can it be because it exposes the unprincipled character of their **secret** alliances? Perhaps with the left taking on a more sustained character through the League and the *Vanguard* they see less possibility of demoralizing it, of scattering it or absorbing it, as has happened in the past, and the certainty of its increasing influence.

Early this year the B.C. provincial executive laid charges of disloyalty against a group of leading left-wing NDPers for "joining with members of another organization in furthering the policies of *Vanguard*," which policies they characterized of course "as being inimical to those of the NDP." Later the whole matter was dropped.

In Ontario the provincial executive, without any hearings, has formally rejected the membership application of half a dozen persons and is sitting on the membership of scores of others — the bulk of them former CCF card holders. The grounds for this action are that they are alleged to be members of the LSA which, in passing, they designate an opponent political party. By so doing they hope to entrench their authority and to prevent leftists from coordinating their efforts.

They are frustrating the democratic process. They are denying the fundamental character of the movement as a Canadian peoples' party. They are creating an atmosphere where openly declared caucuses are outlaw; for what caucus could exist without risking the danger of being declared an opponent political party.

Perhaps by making things difficult for the socialists, by forcing them underground and compelling them to take on some of the appearances of a conspiracy, the top brass hope to panic them into leaving the NDP and its rank and file to their tender mercies, into setting up an independent and opponent political party. That is just what Editor Bill Pikot of the New Democratic Youth paper *Viewpoint* would have the left do, from his attack on the League and *Vanguard*, taking up almost one third of the April issue. He charges the LSA, which he estimates numbers 500, with, for some strange reason, seeking to "destroy" the NDP "from within by disruption rather than trying to fight it from without by an open and honest fight."

Naturally enough Mr. Pikot does not deal with the program of the LSA, with any of its aims and objectives as outlined in this pamphlet, with anything that has appeared in the *Vanguard*. He deals almost entirely with what he considers to be the motives of the LSA, its hidden purposes that are known to him through telepathy, divine revelation, or some other mysterious and secret way.

And of course Mr. Pikot, like his right wing mentors, attempts to present the program of the NDP as adopted at its founding convention as something immutable, fixed, static; and the viewpoint of the present leadership an integral part of, as being natural, inherent to the party. In so far as he says anything about the LSA's ideas it is summed up in the phrase that the LSA "disagrees with the principles of the party, that the LSA is attempting to use our party for principles which the NDP opposes and abhors."

A major portion of the article is devoted to an effort to separate forces, to which its author would give a certain legitimacy as the left, an acceptable left, from the Trotskyists, who it seems are "guilty" of promoting the concept that the left should stick together. This is one of three theories that Pikot charges the LSA has "invented."

Pikot attempts to split the left and to lay the grounds for the exclusion of the LSA from the NDP with a series of fabrications and lies that are worthy of a scandal sheet, not the official organ of the NDP youth. The best answer to this shameful material in this pamphlet. It commits the LSA to a policy of unconditional support of the NDP. It outlines the nature of the problem confronting Canada's labor-farmer party and projects what it thinks the program of the party should be. Every NDPer should read it and judge for himself as to where he should stand.

=====box

### ***Bertrand Russell Defies Gaitskell's Threat to Purge Labor Left-Wing***

"... an impertinence and a gross insult to the millions who support the Labor Party," Bertrand Russell labeled the British Labor Party executive's demand that he, Lord Chorley, and Cannon John Collins, consult it over their sponsorship of a world disarmament conference in Moscow this summer. This executive action is a part of a witch-hunt of unprecedented scope against all those who oppose the H-Bomb in the party. Leading officers have been instructed to investigate CND influence in local Labor Parties and the extent "the campaign has been infiltrated by Communists and Trotskyites." Two young socialist papers *Keep Left* and *Young Guard*, which have consistently opposed the bomb are to be immediately proscribed. Seven members of the National Committee of the Young Socialists (a majority) are to be asked to give reasons to the executive as to why they should not be expelled from the party.

"I suggest," said the eminent philosopher and mathematician, "that Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Brown appear before me and explain for the benefit of the entire country their support of the atmospheric nuclear tests and their support of the Polaris in blatant defiance of the conference decisions of the party they are misleading."

The Gaitskell leadership's drive to make the Labor Party safe for the H-Bomb is certain to meet tremendous resistance. On May 14 more than 750 steel and building trade workers in Cheshire downed tools in a one-day token strike in opposition to the Tory H-Bomb and the resumption of the tests. At a meeting after the demonstration the chief steward declared "this could be the beginning of mass industrial action against the bomb."

=====box

## **How Can the NDP Go Forward Now? An Analysis of the (Ontario) Elections**

*(from Workers' Vanguard, July 1962)*

BY THE EDITORS

How should NDP members and supporters interpret the recent election results — what do they mean and what actions do they require of us?

In a release to the press Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald claims "we have reached the point of a major breakthrough," that with a little more money and work "every percentage point increase in the vote represents more seats." He backs up these claims with figures. The federal poll for the NDP he presents as a 50% increase, the Ontario poll he presents as reflecting "an even bigger increase" — 70% more than 1958. The federal vote was just over a million — 1958 it was 671,736. The Ontario poll was 258,723 and now stands at 448,157. The only trouble is that these figures bear as much relation to the contents that MacDonald would have us buy as the outside measurement of the boxes of breakfast foods and soap chips on supermarket shelves bear to their contents. The members and supporters of the NDP would buy this Donald MacDonald package at the peril of the future progress and victory of the NDP.

The true picture which we must try to grasp in order to move forward to the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in this country can only be acquired from analyzing a totally different set of figures. They show that the NDP poll represents only a very modest addition to the support for the idea of a socialist Canada built up through the years by the CCF. This is revealed by the poll in 1957 — one year before Diefenbaker called the snap election that steamrollered him into office, cutting even into the longstanding base of the CCF. That year, a more accurate one to estimate the support that it had managed to build up, the CCF polled 11% of the vote. This year, the NDP polled 13.9% of the vote.

If political lines had remained static, if there had been no notable shifts in political alignments, a 2.9% increase could be considered a modest achievement, a down payment on the high hopes and expectations of the thousands of delegates who launched the party only last August. But 1957 recorded that hundreds of thousands of Canadians had dumped their former political allegiances. They voted Tory to topple the 22 year old Liberal regime. A year later they proved to be still on the march when they gave Diefenbaker the largest number of seats in Canadian history. This year's vote revealed a continued turbulence — the electorate again

struck out against the government. The protest landed up behind the Liberals and only to a modest extent behind the NDP and the Social Credit movement in Quebec. Why?

From a strategical point of view the NDP comes out of this election in a less favorable position than before. Whereas the CCF was the third party — the opposition to the Liberal and Tory parties of Big Business — with the rise of Social Credit in the East, the NDP has become the fourth party. On the eve of the 1957 election the CCF leadership with some justification could present the Tories as a declining force and the CCF as the only alternative to the Liberal incumbents. Since the 1958 landslide behind the Tories, the NDP leadership has presented the Liberals as a declining force and the NDP as the only viable alternative to the Tories. Now the Tories are in office, the Liberals have had a resurgence, Social Credit has taken on a national physiognomy and the NDP is NOT the only vehicle of protest against two capitalist parties which are NOT moving towards coalition, but a fourth party.

The NDP has no seats in either Saskatchewan or Alberta and none in the key province of Quebec. The two Winnipeg seats that have returned to the fold were won with a smaller vote than the CCF rolled up in 1957.

There are only two areas where the NDP met any of the promises that the right wing CCF leadership and the trade union brass assured us would come with the dumping of the "old socialism" and all concepts of labor, of class politics, and the adoption of the name New Democrats and all such trappings. BC is one area. The NDP won 10 seats and increased its vote from 23% in 1957 to 31% in 1962. But we must add that the CCF has been the largest single party in that province for decades, deprived of office for some years by a coalition of the boss parties. The other area is Ontario where the CCF got 12.5% of the poll in 1957 and the NDP got 17.4% this election. And even here it is necessary to pause.

Take the three Northern Ontario seats that the party held onto! In two of them the vote dropped from what the CCF polled in 1957. In the industrial area of Windsor the gain was very modest indeed. Although the poll was higher in Oshawa, home of the mighty GM UAW local, the NDP vote fell to 26% — in 1957 the CCF won 32 % of the vote. Industrial Hamilton saw only a slight rise from 22% in 1957 to 24% behind the NDP this election.

The area of biggest gain was Metropolitan Toronto where the CCF polled 16.5% of the vote in 1957 and the NDP polled 24% to win three seats — two of them new to the CCF-NDP federal fold. Even here the bulk of the gain was racked up in several of the newer expanding suburban areas. In the heart of the city, where the most exploited sections of the working class reside, the increase was very small. In two of them the vote dropped — in Davenport — from 30% in 1957 to 24%—In Trinity, 23% in 1957, to 18%.

With a prominent leader of the Steelworkers union as candidate and a well heeled and powerful machine, Davenport was thought to be a sure NDP win.

From these few comments it is apparent that this election registers a severe setback for the NDP, for the principle of independent labor political action and the struggle for a workers and farmers government. And that we have a problem that is not to be sloughed aside with the old familiar comments about the lack of funds and a developed electoral machine, actually less real than ever before. The problem is one of policy.

It is apparent that the NDP did not appear as a dynamic, as a viable alternative to the two major capitalist parties. Social Credit — a declared "free enterprise" party — made more trenchant criticism, presented itself as a more dynamic alternative to the old line parties than the NDP — than a labor party which regardless of the fears of its leadership for the word socialism poses nonetheless, great, even fundamental change in the interests of the working people.

The results of this election should come as no surprise to the readers of *Worker's Vanguard*. Last January in our analysis of the five Ontario provincial by-elections, the first important test of the policy and leadership adopted at the founding convention, we warned the party that the strategy being followed by the leadership would not work.

### **(NDP) Not Demarcked from Liberal Party**

We challenged the leadership with attempting to compete for votes on the same grounds as the Liberals — to all effects and purposes making the NDP indistinguishable from the Liberals, with failing to present the NDP as a serious alternative to the Big Business Liberal and Tory Parties. We denounced the idea that the labor vote is pretty well in the bag, the concept that "what is necessary is to not only cleanse the party of any hint of socialism but to modify and soft pedal even those planks where the NDP is in any way different from the Liberals — to make the NDF appear as like the Liberal party as possible and in this way ease the shift of dissident Liberals over to the NDP."

We declared that such a policy would not work. We called for a shake-up and the organization of the left on a national scale to prevent what we saw developing on the provincial plane flowing onto the federal plane — a resurgence of the Liberals to which this election is witness.

Programmatically, in its leaflets and its official statements the NDP had almost nothing to say to the electorate. Even in (*its leader*) T.C. Douglas's major speeches, which came closest to posing a new path, beneath the glib phrases and pat formulas there was little content.

Even at best, when Douglas talked in terms of guaranteeing full employment, what program did he present that could make this appear other than empty demagogic? Some NDP candidates even publicly disassociated themselves from this demand and nowhere was there presented any policy of public ownership to realize full employment.

Instead of roundly denouncing red baiting when it was directed by the Liberals against the Tories for trading with Cuba and China, and by the Tories against Pearson, the NDP leadership joined in full cry, making themselves a laughing stock and an opponent of civil rights with their threats of legal action against the Communist Party.

The leadership undercut one of the party's few positions of differentiation — opposition to nuclear arms for Canadian forces — with its voluble statements of adherence to the NATO alliance. In fact no party appeared more committed to the policies of Western imperialism than the NDP.

Having linked up this labor party to the U.S. Democrats with the adoption of the name New Democrats, the leadership made a further identification with President Kennedy for his conflict with the medical hierarchy. This linkage with Kennedy-of-the-Cuban-invasion took place while he is more clearly identified with nuclear testing, a wage freeze, and inaction on integration.

The NDP leadership so tried to out-Liberal the Liberals that they seized upon and reproduced with party funds in the mass circulation dailies a column by Pierre Berton of the *Toronto Daily Star*. The column ridiculed them for "desperately trying to pretend that the NDP really isn't radical, unorthodox, daring, imaginative or in any sense un-Canadian," but they rushed into print with it because it ended up supporting the NDP, not for governmental office but as a "needle and wheedle" of the capitalist parties.

This federal election constitutes a real test of the leadership and the policies adopted at the founding convention. This test has found both wanting.

It is now necessary to launch a full discussion from the constituency level of the party, through the unions, right on up to the highest level. The coming provincial conventions must be wide open forums for full discussion and correction of the situation.

Nothing must be allowed to prevent such actions. The future of the NDP depends upon it.

=====box 1=====

### **LIBERAL-TORY GANG-UP DEFEATED DOUGLAS**

The 29% of the poll cast for NDP leader Douglas would have and did elect scores of candidates running elsewhere to the (House of) Commons. But it wasn't sufficient in Regina, for the all-out drive to keep Douglas out of the house increased the total poll by almost 9% over the 1957 vote and the drive of both Liberal and Social Credit machines to line their supporters up behind the Tory candidate more than doubled his vote.

While the Saskatchewan NDP vote dropped precipitously to place it third in 17 ridings, there was an even more drastic shift of Social Credit voters behind the Tories along with a considerable Liberal vote. Renegade NDP house leader Hazen Argue squeaked in as the sole Liberal spokesman in Saskatchewan with 2,000 votes less than he polled as a CCFer and only 2,000 more than the NDP candidate. The NDP vote held firmest in the urban areas of the province.

=====end box 1=====

=====box 2=====

### **'COMMONWEALTH' POINTS THE WAY**

Bouncing back from the body blow we received in Saskatchewan the editors of the *Prairie New Democrat Commonwealth* placed a full page ad in the June 27 issue.

They ask how is it possible that the NDP in the province was not more successful?

How is it possible that T. C. Douglas could be defeated? And reply:

"The answer is simple. We have failed to explain to the general public the social and political issues involved. A public which properly understood the principles and aims of New Democracy would not turn away from it."

Yes, the party, the leadership, has failed the Canadian working people. It's high time to get to work and formulate a series of principles and aims that clearly mark the party as a labor party, as a party that has the answers on the issues confronting the workers and farmers.

====end box 2=====

The dispute with the fallers almost overshadowed the substantial gains won in negotiations during 1972. After years of frustration, the long-sought goal of parity with the Coast was finally achieved in both the north and south Interior. The British Columbia locals won wage settlements that made them the highest-paid woodworkers in the world. As well, they had negotiated a pension plan, fully funded by the employers, for the first time, along with an employer-funded health-and-welfare plan and a number of other fringe benefits. Complementing these gains was the election of British Columbia's first New Democratic Party government.

## The IWA and the NDP

In the 1950s, many tradition-bound CCFers still felt that trade unions and political parties should not mix, perceiving their respective goals as too distinct. But as the legalistic, regulated relationship between labour and capital evolved in the post-war era, it became increasingly apparent that the needs of organized labour needed to be addressed through legislation. Region 1 president Joe Morris, and Stu Hodgson and Syd Thompson of Local 1-217 were among the labour leaders who helped convince Tommy Douglas, the CCF's national leader, that a new coalition between organized labour and the CCF would be a valuable undertaking. This reinvigorated alliance resulted in the creation of the New Democratic Party (NDP) in 1961.

Throughout the 1960s, the IWA advocated a strong program of political action. The union was a driving force behind many of the NDP's policy planks, including calls for a universal minimum wage, increased aid and improved facilities for retraining workers displaced by technological change, and the removal of existing legislation that crippled legitimate trade union activities like organizing and negotiating collective agreements. The IWA's Jack MacKenzie served as president of the British Columbia NDP in the mid-1960s and wrote numerous columns in the *Lumber Worker* that explained the importance of IWA members' support for labour's political party. A number of IWA members had won election to the provincial legislature as CCF candidates in the 1950s and 60s, and IWA member Frank Howard was elected several times from the north coast as a CCF/NDP Member of Parliament.

In Manitoba, the 1969 election of an NDP government and subsequent changes to that province's labour code were crucial to the IWA's success in organizing forestry workers in The Pas. Similarly in Saskatchewan, where Allen Blakeney's NDP government was elected in 1971, amendments to labour legislation made it easier to organize and win certification for new units. In BC, Dave Barrett (who later proclaimed, "I'm an IWA boy, and proud

*IWA member  
Frank Howard  
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Member of  
Parliament.*



#### A 'NEW' PARTY

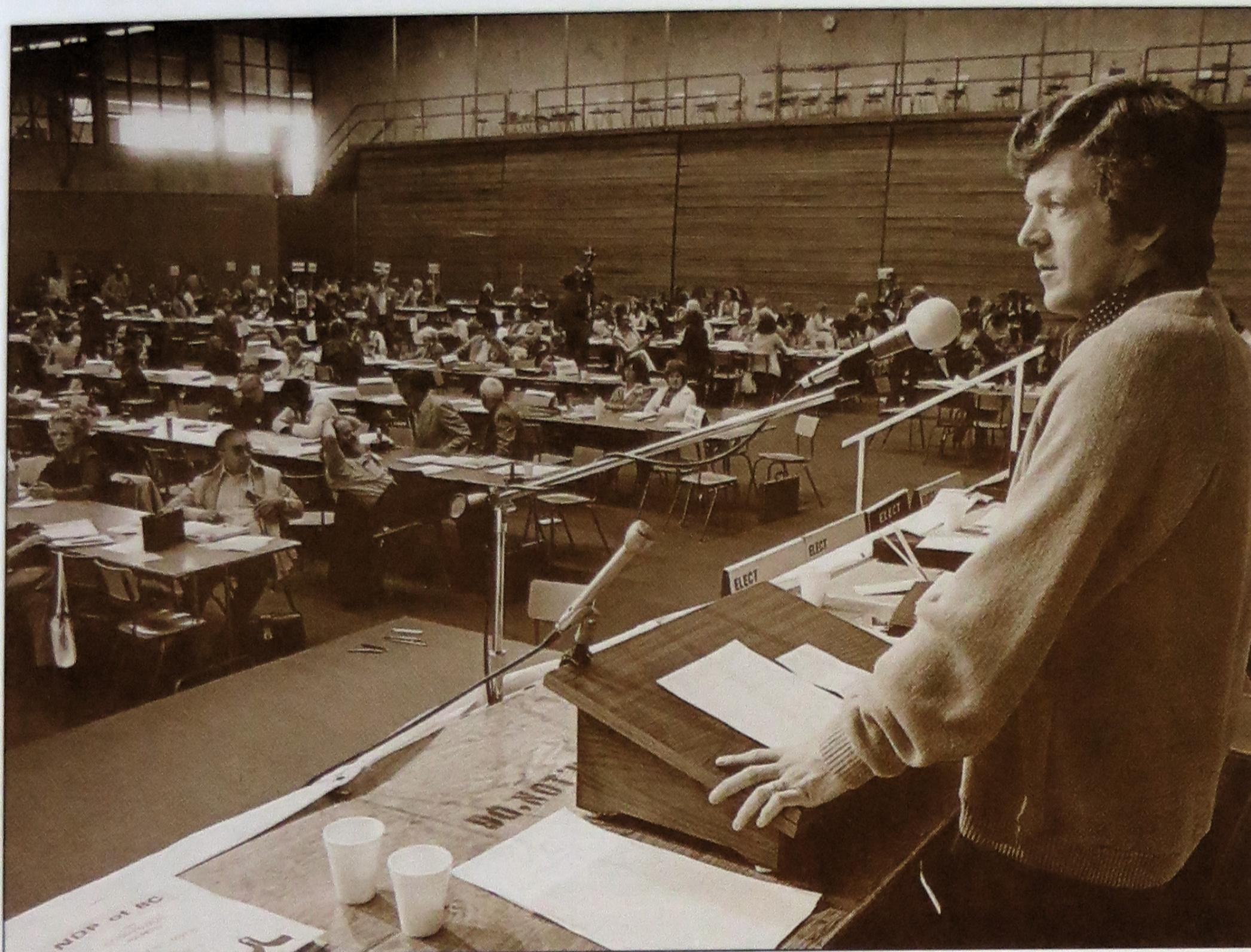
Several IWA members from Local 1-217 were at the NDP's founding convention in 1961. Shown here with Tommy Douglas, from left to right are Stu Hodgson, Syd Thompson, Tom Clarke, Douglas, Doug Evans, Al McLachlan, and Hector Poirier.

PHOTO COURTESY DOUG EVANS

of it!"') led the NDP to victory and joined the other provincial NDP governments in setting out progressive labour and occupational safety legislation.

Local 1-357 president Gerry Stoney was one of the NDP's strongest supporters within the IWA. Stoney lobbied the Barrett government incessantly during its tenure, fighting for extended health care benefits and financial assistance for senior citizens and encouraging the development of a vibrant education system. Dave Barrett later recalled that "Gerry Stoney came to Victoria and presented his ideas, his issues, and his demands – none of which held any personal benefit for him." Accompanying the efforts of IWA officials was solid grassroots support from the rank and file.

Lyle Pona was one of those rank-and-file members who joined the NDP in 1963. Pona, who later became the IWA's director of organizing and then its director of education, worked diligently on behalf of the NDP and recalled that in the 1970s the IWA conducted "on-the-job canvasses" of IWA members through job stewards. These canvasses created a dialogue between the NDP and IWA members, and surveys indicated the IWA rank and file provided more support to the NDP than any other trade union in British Columbia.

**BUILDING BRIDGES**

One-time president of Local 1-357 and future leader of IWA Canada, Gerry Stoney, seen here at the BC NDP's 1978 convention, was a staunch believer in close links between the IWA and NDP.

DEMOCRAT PHOTO  
DENNIS McGANN

However, the successes of the NDP in the early 1970s were accompanied by ongoing political battles between unions. Tensions emerged between the BC Federation of Labour and the IWA after the NDP's election in British Columbia. Region 1 president Jack Munro, who succeeded Jack Moore in October 1973, openly disagreed with the BC Fed when it criticized the NDP's new labour code. Munro suggested that "before we started attacking Bill King [NDP labour minister] and the NDP government, we should sit down and read the thing and give it a chance to see if it would work or not." Munro suggested that the BC Fed was mistaken in treating the NDP government as though "it was there to do the bidding of organized labour." Consistent with the IWA's unwavering support for the CCF and NDP, the union recognized that although disagreements with the government were inevitable, the interests of labour and working people were best represented by the NDP. Therefore, for organized labour to engage in a nasty public spat with its political party of choice was just plain bad politics. Although the IWA's support for the provincial government remained solid, the BC Fed and most of its affiliates continued to openly criticize the NDP. Organized labour's frustration with the Barrett NDP government contributed to its defeat in December 1975.

IWA members maintained their solid commitment to the NDP throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In 1979, Lyle Kristiansen of Local 1-405 was elected to the federal Parliament in the riding of Kootenay West, and Gerry Stoney served as president of the British Columbia NDP from 1982 to 1988. While

AN 'IWA BOY'

Dave Barrett, BC's first NDP premier, pledges his support for the IWA at the union's 1973 convention.

PACIFIC TRIBUNE COLLECTION



the IWA-NDP relationship was on solid ground, this era was marked by serious divisions in the house of labour, as Canadian-based unions attempted to raid the IWA's membership.

### Wrapped In the Flag

By the late 1960s, as American economic and cultural dominance increased, English Canadians were expressing a patriotic desire to have an identity distinct from the United States. For many Canadians in the trade union movement, American-based international unions, including the IWA, came to represent one more example of American encroachment on Canada's sovereignty. This emerging Canadian nationalism created a backlash within some sectors of the Canadian labour movement against international unions.

By the late 1960s, several all-Canadian unions were formed after breakaways from American parents. Among the new unions were the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada (PPWC) and the Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU), both of which spent considerable time and effort raiding or attempting to raid IWA-organized mills in BC and Alberta respectively. In Saskatchewan, the Laborer's International Union (LIU) attempted to take over IWA operations throughout the province. *Lumber Worker* editor Pat Kerr commented in 1971 that "the tragedy of the whole matter is that there is no need for any union to raid another in the forest industry with the thousands upon thousands of millworkers and loggers still unorganized."

The PPWC and CPU were notorious for wrapping themselves in the

# MOORE BLASTS PPWC OFFICERS' ANTI-UNION ACTS

IWA Regional President Jack Moore has accused officers of the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada of cheating and lying to their members to consolidate their position in office.

Moore charged that the PPWC officers deliberately lied to their members in claiming that they had a majority when applying for certification of the employees at MacMillan Bloedel's Chemainus Sawmill Division held by Local 1-80, IWA.

He stated that his charge was substantiated by the action of the Labour relations Board in April which flatly rejected the PPWC's application because the union had failed to sign up a majority of the Chemainus employees.

Moore said the purpose of the PPWC officers in submitting the application and lying to their members was in hope of creating strife in the forest industry unions which would enable them to consolidate their position in office.

Their action, Moore stated, has cheated PPWC members out of thousands of dollars of union funds which could have been better used to service the organization and to help organize workers in the forest industry.

Canadian flag and making sweeping criticisms of international unions, assuming that pro-Canadian sentiment was justification enough for their actions. What the PPWC and CPU refused to recognize was that Canadians within the IWA enjoyed genuine national autonomy within the union's international structure. The IWA had established separate Canadian regions with Canadian officers, who were elected only by Canadian members. Moreover, the Canadian IWA regions had control over union expenditures in Canada, and the Canadian regional conventions dealt with issues of policy affecting Canadian members.

The IWA lost three sawmills on Vancouver Island to PPWC raids in the

#### STANDING HIS GROUND

In 1971, IWA Region 1 president Jack Moore accused the PPWC of deliberately misleading IWA members during one of its raids on an IWA certification on Vancouver Island.

IWA ARCHIVES



#### UNCLE SAM GET OUT OF VIETNAM!

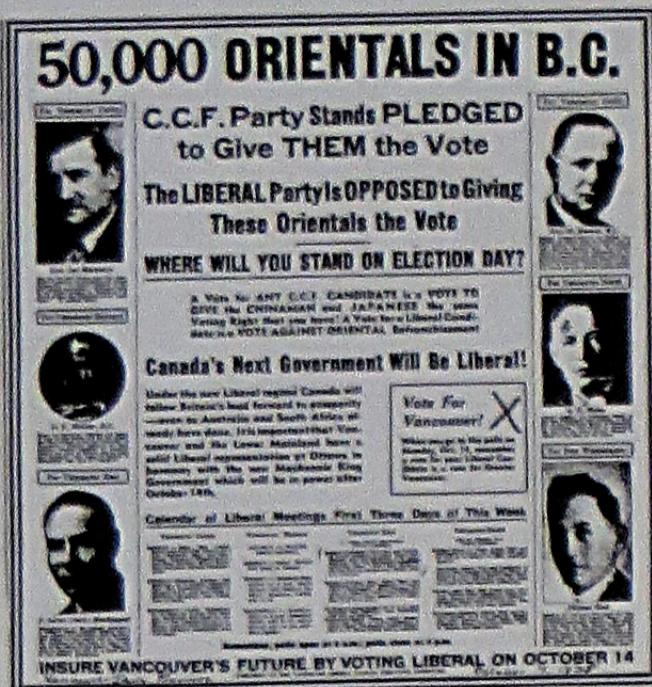
The war in Vietnam fanned the flames of anti-Americanism in Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and these sentiments led many to question the usefulness of US-based international unions north of the border.

PACIFIC TRIBUNE COLLECTION

early 1970s. It was particularly surprised when the PPWC raided the Somass sawmill in Port Alberni. The Somass mill had over a thousand workers and was one of the IWA's most militant strongholds. The IWA defended its turf and soundly defeated the PPWC in an LRB certification vote.

A 1977 PPWC raid on a sawmill organized by Local 1-424 at Williams Lake was another major challenge in this era. The IWA defended its jurisdiction in a legal fight that took three months to settle and cost the union between \$75,000 and \$100,000. From 1970 to 1977, the PPWC conducted 16 raids against IWA operations, netting a paltry 503 members. Meanwhile, in the same seven-year period, the IWA successfully organized 10,000 previously unorganized workers into the union. In 1978, a truce was reached that greatly reduced this destructive behaviour, and the IWA was able to focus on organizing the unorganized rather than defending its locals.

The raids and jurisdictional disputes of the late 1960s and 1970s illustrated yet again the ultimate folly of organized labour turning in on itself rather than fighting employers. As the inter-union strife took centre stage, some key structural economic changes were beginning to take place in the background. By 1975, working people across Canada came under an attack by capital and government that continues to this day.



#### REACHING OUT

Like the industrial union movement, the CCF challenged the ugly, anti-immigrant sentiment – captured here in a 1935 Liberal Party election ad – that pervaded much of Canadian society.

IWA ARCHIVES

#### FACING PAGE

Fallers participating in the 1934 strike against Bloedel, Stewart, and Welch congregate at a picket camp in Campbell River on Vancouver Island.

IWA ARCHIVES

1935, the union secured a small wage increase and recognition of camp committees. More importantly, Clay Perry observed, “it put forest industry unionism, at least among the pulp cutters, on a firm footing, the basis of unionism in northern Ontario to this day” – a conclusion just as applicable to the Pacific Coast as it is to the Canadian Shield.

## The Parliamentary Road to Socialism

The Communist Party of Canada was not the only organization challenging the political and economic status quo in the 1930s. In 1932, representatives from various western-based farmer, labour, and socialist groups met in Calgary to debate the politics and possibilities of a non-communist, social democratic movement dedicated to a “far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions.” The new organization was called the “Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer Labour Socialist)” – the final three words indicating the delegates’ diverse, left-wing political backgrounds. A year later in Regina, delegates gathered again, this time at the CCF’s first national convention, to adopt a political program entitled, aptly, the “Regina Manifesto.”

“The CCF is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution, and exchange will be supplying of human needs and not the making of profits,” read the manifesto’s preamble. “Social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by [this] ideal...and supported by a majority of the people.” To this end, the CCF demanded public ownership of power, transportation, and communication companies and the creation of agricultural co-ops, socialized medical care, unemployment insurance, and a progressive income tax system. It was a government-centred vision of reform that reflected in part the influence of the League for Social Reconstruction, a group of university-based intellectuals from Toronto and Montreal that believed in socialism. At the helm of this new left-wing organization was a former Methodist minister, social activist, and labour Member of Parliament from Winnipeg, J.S. Woodsworth.

To many Depression-weary Canadians, this kinder, gentler path to economic and political salvation was attractive, especially at a time when the Communist Party, the other left-wing alternative, was opposed to working with moderate organizations and was tacking left and right in tandem with the shifting policy of the Communist International. In the wake of the Regina meeting, the CCF secured official opposition status in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan and sent seven members to the federal parliament in 1935 –

## **Meaning of NDP Vote And What's to Be Done** *(An analysis of the 1963 Federal election -- ed.)*

By the Editors  
*(from Workers' Vanguard, May 1963)*

The tumult and the shouting of the campaign to elect Canada's 26th parliament has died. The top strategists of the Liberals are analyzing just what their victory means, just how far they can go with their austerity program and belt tightening on the working people, how far and how fast they can commit Canada, after they nuclear arm the Bomars, to a nuclear armed NATO (*as demanded by Washington and the Pentagon -- ed.*) They are thinking of how they can work things so that the next election will win them an overall majority.

The thousands of working people who are now members and supporters of the New Democratic Party, who freely gave their time and energy to establish a labor-farmer government in Ottawa, and the many who until now have stood on the sidelines, sympathetic but sceptical, are wondering what happened to the NDP. They are wondering where we go from here.

A full and unrestricted discussion of the NDP election campaign policy and strategy, open to all who desire to participate — before the entire working people of Canada who have to become involved in the party's affairs and won to its side so that it can achieve its purpose — must now take place.

The Political Education Committee of the Toronto and District Labour Council, the largest council in the country, has submitted an evaluation. The Ontario provincial council of the NDP has discussed the matter. In Vancouver this week NDP candidates Dorothy Steeves, Hugh Clifford and others, talk on The Federal Election and the Need for a Socialist Manifesto for the NDP at the Hillcrest NDP hall.

Another meeting at the League for Socialist Action hall in Vancouver will be addressed by NDP candidates Margaret Erickson, Hugh Clifford and LSA leader Ruth Bullock on Where to Now, for the NDP.

### **A Serious Setback for Labor**

It is our opinion that these election results represent a serious defeat for the NDP — the cause of which must be ascertained so that the party, particularly this year's national convention, can take appropriate action. The results are certainly much worse than the party leadership lead everyone to believe they would be.

To be sure the leadership led no one to anticipate that we would take office. They did just the opposite, about which we will comment later. But they predicted that the party would make a breakthrough in Quebec. We didn't! They predicted that we would pick up "at least four or five seats on top of the three won in 1962" in the Toronto area. We lost

one and almost another. "It will be surprising," they said, "if the NDP got less than 39-40% of the vote in the province" of B.C. We were stalemated at 30%. There is no question that Glace Bay would re-elect the "new image" M.P. Malcolm MacInnis. We lost, with 3,000 miners boycotting the polls. They talked of amassing two million votes. We got one million.

We do not think that in their predictions the leadership was away out on Cloud 9. We don't think that they overestimated the level of consciousness of the Canadian people, or were on some kind of left jag. But they were all wrong, absolutely and tragically wrong!

By their own standards the campaign, particularly in certain ridings, was a model one. They had the "right kind" of candidates, more than, enough campaign workers, plenty of, and diverse election material — in one Toronto riding alone they spent more than the total spent in all Quebec.

To be sure the party didn't get the breaks from the big capitalist dailies. But will it ever? It was red-baited but not markedly, and when won't this device be used to confuse the electorate? From the point of view of the leadership of the party, their concepts of program and strategy, this election campaign was an ideal one. But what happened?

Whatever can be said about the program, the party had an issue in this election that transcends all others, handed to them on a platter. The downfall of the Diefenbaker government, brought about by the arrogant interference of the U.S. State Department, and its repercussions through the cabinet, sharply posed the question of the acquisition of nuclear arms for Canadian forces both here and abroad.

There has been no poll taken by anyone over the past several years that didn't show three and four times the number of persons than had ever voted CCF-NDP, opposed to nuclear arms.

The issue of nuclear arms opened up the possibility of winning the support of thousands who have heretofore voted for the Big Business parties, of mobilizing thousands who have abstained from politics, of winning the anti-nuclear youth who could transform the movement into a crusade.

The nuclear arms question threw all three capitalist parties into a crisis. The Tories suffered the defection of three of their cabinet ministers and lost an important part of their Big Business support. Pearson's cynical switch to open support of nuclear arms shook out some prominent Liberals who aligned themselves with the NDP. Social Credit proved unable to adopt a consistent federal policy. And these difficulties only reflected a more profound crisis confronting the capitalist parties.

## **Big Possibilities in Situation**

Political lines have been shattered and shattered again in the past seven years. In 1957, after 22 years of office, the Liberals suffered a crushing defeat and only a year later

appeared to the NDP leadership at least, to be incapable of recovery. The next election dealt a staggering blow to the Tories, witnessed a modest recovery of the Liberals and an upsurge for Social Credit in Quebec. Deputy leader David Lewis opened up his campaign this election with the sweeping prediction that the Progressive Conservatives were spent as a political force.

It is a complete and utter distortion of the facts to say as does the Toronto Labor Council PEC that "our vote held firm and indeed as stated above increased." The NDP was stopped dead in its tracks. The increase that the PEC talks about is a mere 15,000 votes — but there were 220,000 more votes cast. By merely fielding candidates in 23 Quebec ridings where it had none in 1962, the NDP picked up 33,000 votes.

The NDP registered no headway over the previous year and in fact over the vote that the CCF had worked up over the years. And that is just what the present leadership were going to do, to break out of the box that the CCF was in, through eliminating any and all concepts of class from the party program, by purging it of any taint of public ownership and by substituting firm commitments with tricky formulae which would allow mutually exclusive interpretations.

Not only did the NDP vote remain static in the face of this extremely promising situation but all the hopes of an improved strategic position failed to materialize. The Liberal party, which the NDP leadership predicted was washed up and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Tories; the Progressive Conservative party which they later predicted was through and would result in the polarization of conservative forces around the Liberals — both parties remain. Where the vote broke out of the old Liberal-Tory ruts it jumped in Quebec into the Social Credit party, which this election saw stabilize its vote and record growth in the urban areas. In four Montreal French working class ridings which it had contested with strong candidates the previous election, the NDP increased its vote from 14 to 16%. Social Credit in the same ridings doubled and in some cases tripled its vote to average 17%.

### **Where do we go from here?**

The most persistent explanation for the failure of the NDP to advance in this election has been the impact of the high powered campaign carried by the leading spokesmen of the Liberals and Tories, and played up by the press, for a stable, for a majority government.

There is no doubt that this had considerable influence on the electorate. But there is also no question that the public utterances of Douglas and other national leaders in the last few weeks played right into the hands of this campaign. In a major speech in New Westminster Douglas completely underwrote the only then developing campaign to present the real struggle as one between the Liberals and Tories with the NDP only playing a futile and at best nuisance role, by declaring that the party only contemplated a balance of power position in the house, which he glossed up as a position that "may hold the solution to what lies ahead for Canada." Subsequently this view was repeated again

and again by party spokesmen, giving official NDP sanction and affirmation to the Liberal-Tory propaganda that the real question was to pick which of them would most likely form the government and to back it up, accordingly.

Underlying the Douglas-Lewis leadership's policy, and what contributed to make the Liberal-Tory campaign to dismiss the NDP so successful, are the persistent attempts on the part of the same leadership to give the party a respectable image, to win acceptance for it even from its most irreconcilable opponents, to identify the party as part of the Establishment.

What did the campaign strategists do with the nuclear arms issue after Douglas in his campaign kick-off speech committed the party to advance this as the overriding, the key issue confronting the electorate?

Wherever it was raised it won the widest acclaim, the most profound outbursts of enthusiasm and support for the party, nevertheless from Douglas' statement on, there was a retreat away from the nuclear arms issue as Diefenbaker moved out demagogically to pick it up. Very few pieces of constituency literature even mentioned the party's opposition to Canadian acquisition of nuclear arms. Where it was mentioned, it was often garbled, sometimes becoming transformed into a pious statement of opposition to a nuclear war.

While the official party policy is Canadian withdrawal from NORAD and withdrawal from NATO should it become nuclear armed, and while it was obvious that it was the US State department, dominating the NORAD alliance and in control of NATO, which is pressing nuclear arms on Canada, party spokesmen supported the military alliance with U.S. imperialism. There was no talk against NORAD through which Canada is a captive of U.S. cold war strategy. In fact one Toronto candidate openly violated party policy by declaring support of NORAD. As U.S. President Kennedy, at the very height of the campaign, lined up forces to nuclear arm NATO, instead of emphasizing the party's position of opposition and withdrawal from NATO, official spokesmen took an increasingly more positive position of support of NATO, stating that Canada's contribution at least, would preferably be along conventional lines.

Due to the ambiguity of its own position, added to the confusion consciously perpetrated by the capitalist parties, the NDP not only failed to awaken and mobilize the Canadian people to the grave danger but it failed to rally the support of those already opposed to the nuclear arms drive.

Many Canadians, even after two federal election campaigns, have no idea of what the NDP is so that they would even be inclined to support it. To many it is just another political party like the rest of them.

Is it a labor party? No small effort has been made to remove this, what some of the party openly call, "stigma." If you can't tell what it is from what it says about itself — perhaps it can be defined by how it characterizes its opponents, the Liberals and Tories.

From the bulk of official literature and the pre-election issue of the *Ontario New Democrat* you would be hard put to really grasp what the Liberals and Tories are, and certainly that their differences with the NDP are in any way vital. There is no hint that they represent the vested interests, Big Business, or dare we use the word, capital. The Liberals and Tories are described as "weak," "lacking in imagination" they are "lacklustre," they "haven't a program."

That the program of the NDP as it now stands in no way seriously differentiates it from the Liberals Tories and Social Credit was clearly revealed when Douglas rigidly applied it to the question of what to do about runaway plants, such as Ford of Windsor, which are leaving behind unemployment and desolation. It was brought home again when Douglas had to deal with the aftermath of railway line cutbacks in the West, and when Lewis had to take up the question of the stagnation of the Maritimes. They talked in the same terms as the capitalist parties — in terms of incentives to capital, increased subventions and planning.

But it is idle to talk about controlling the economy and planning, without talking about ownership — public ownership. In a full page interview with the *Toronto Star*, which was subsequently reproduced as a leaflet and circulated throughout his riding, deputy leader Lewis, without any authority whatever, dismissed the whole concept of public ownership. The official NDP plan to get the economy rolling again is one of "spend ourselves to prosperity" — little different and not to be taken any more seriously than the funny money schemes of Social-Credit.

### **Talk-up and Build the Left Wing!**

These are harsh comments, but we are confronted by harsh facts which need to be discussed honestly and fearlessly and then acted upon. What is involved here is the future of the party and all the work and hopes that have gone into its shaping.

As best it could, straining every resource at its disposal to rally support to the New Democratic Party, the (*Workers'*) *Vanguard* warned of these very dangers. It did so in the midst of the campaign, through the publication of three special issues, 70,000 of which were distributed across the country, hoping that in this way it might modify the course that it saw the leadership taking the party.

But the *Vanguard's* voice, all the efforts of the League for Socialist Action, the socialists grouped around the Woodsworth-Irvine Socialist Fellowship and the New Left Association, and other socialists scattered across the country are not adequate to meet the task. The new leadership, that it is now obvious the NDP must have, can only be built through a tremendous extension of the forces of the left, by a heightened effort to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist perspective.

The first requisite is a wide-open discussion of the election campaign. The rank and file of the party who have no interest other than the truth cannot permit the leadership of

the party to misdirect attention from the real problem by their launching a witch-hunt against the left.

The rank and file must not be hoodwinked by gossip, rumours and chit-chat about alleged conspiracies, and dangerous thoughts that various persons are said to hold. It is necessary to talk about deeds and facts. There are deeds that have been committed and they have been committed by the present leadership of the party. The biggest fact is that three years and two elections after the New Democratic Party was founded it has made no headway over the old CCF vote. The party needs to know the reason why so that it can take the steps it deems necessary to correct the situation.

## **(The First –ed.) TWO YEARS OF THE NDP**

*(LSA 1963 Internal Document)*

General line adopted by the majority of the P.C. for presentation to the 1963 convention.

The League for Socialist Action was formed through the formal fusion of our forces in the Socialist Information Center in Vancouver and the Socialist Educational League in Toronto. The League is the outcome of the decision of our 1960 convention to provide adequate forces and suitable facilities in Vancouver to give us an open organizational form there, and provide us with a national structure.

In the document adopted at that time we said that the socialist wing in the NDP "cannot function, let alone develop, without a press and an organization. We are in a position to really and firmly establish the *Vanguard* as the press of the socialists in the labor party. We are also in a position to establish the LSA as the left wing, as the socialist caucus, in the new labor party whose legality we must assume, and when challenged, fight to establish."

We decided that it was necessary to take on an organized public form. We stated that our press was not a substitute for an organization but an instrument to build it — that we could not meet our political responsibilities nor take advantage, of opportunities open to us without taking on a public, organized form. What the form should be was suggested in the comments about its character at that time in Toronto — "certain comrades to varying degrees publicly identifying themselves with the LSA and with our press and general propaganda — working to the establishment of the LSA as the legitimate organization of the socialist wing in the NDP." The limitations on the public commitment of our forces were determined by our understanding that it was excluded in the whole next period that the LSA would be accepted as a legitimate part of the NDP. The comments that "we are for a federated labor party, for the LSA to be recognized as an affiliate of the labor party" expressed the aim and the spirit of our orientation. The reality forced upon us was the barring from membership of many of our leading cadre, the imposition of a semi-clandestine character on our work in the NDP itself, and the perspective of the achievement of our objective through a whole process of expulsions, splits and unifications.

Other labor party formations have germinated and harboured diverse left currents, broad amorphous centrist tendencies and formations such as the Bevanite tendency in the British Labor Party. In such circumstances one can visualize revolutionary socialists, depending on the maturity of class forces, participating in them, collaborating with them or in frontal contest for leadership of the left and the party, against them. It would be wrong in our opinion to see a priori such a development as only providing a more favorable milieu for us, or as an inevitable or essential stage in the development of the class, thus suggesting that the creation of such a formation is a task confronting us. Such a development could take place in circumstances that would make it a diversion and a

serious setback for the forces of revolutionary socialism. To take a position on such matters requires a concrete knowledge of the circumstances, all the circumstances, that would surround them.

No such formations now exist in the NDP and at most there are only a few signs that such a formation will arise in it. If one should arise or substantial evidence commence to accumulate that would lead us to believe that one is developing, we would of course have to take it into account. It would be a matter of first rate importance. In its absence, since the primary task is to start the process of differentiation from the reformist misleaders rather than from other currents of even a vague leftist character, the LSA suggests to some degree that it is the broad, centrist current. But that is **not** what the LSA is. It remains what it was — a cadre movement — changed from its previous years of hard struggle only in that it is maturing and is further along in the process of becoming the leadership of masses.

If in the future it might be considered possible or advisable for what is now known as the LSA to take on the character of a broader left formation, a centrist organization, it would still be essential to have a cadre organization of the character necessary to lead the struggle of the working class to socialist victory on a continent dominated by the most ruthless and powerful capitalist class on the entire globe. The LSA is the cadre organization recruited on the full program, democratic centralist, oriented to the NDP, which is a labor party formation based on the unions through which it would seem certain in the whole next period the maturing of the Canadian working class is going to take place. Two years have passed — two years of the LSA experience — a test of our orientation, its correctness and our capacity to implement it — and two years of the NDP — the milieu of the LSA operations. The two years of the NDP are the decisive factor for, for our small forces the NDP is the objective factor.

Since its foundation the NDP as a reformist political party in a parliamentary democracy, seeking political office, has undergone two important tests — two federal elections. The high hopes and anticipation demonstrated by the delegates in the founding convention have failed to materialize. The party has made no real gain over the old CCF vote. Only in three provinces, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia does the NDP have any substantial base of support. Next provincial election in Saskatchewan where the NDP holds government office will probably see its defeat. In B.C. the party, after many years as official opposition, appears to be stalemated. It is doubtful if the coming election in Ontario will see any substantial growth. It will probably register a further decline.

The leadership of the party has succeeded in shaping the constituency organizations into mere electoral machines almost completely under their domination. Union political education committees, under the old CCF often centers for anti-brass and leftist activity, are now directed almost entirely towards the constituency organizations.

There is no real political life in the movement. The atmosphere is conservative, sterile. The CCF constituency organizations even in their latter days retained certain elements of critical thought and even class consciousness. The NDP clubs were

conceived and have been raised in an atmosphere of conformity, hostility to class concepts, to public ownership, to internationalism.

The leftists in the NDP are largely persons who made the switch from the CCF to the NDP. They have been pretty well worked over, have little fight and carry on largely from inertia, from force of habit. They do not reflect any genuine, any native currents in the movement that have risen on the basis of experiences of the movement and the class. There are no such currents in the NDP at this stage that hold any extensive possibilities for the left. The organization of the party did not reflect a significant rising consciousness in the ranks of the workers and poor farmers. The party is a creation of the trade union bureaucracy and the old CCF hierarchy, in reaction to the anti-labor drive signaled by the (*right-wing*) Social Credit government in B.C. and the Smallwood Liberal government in Newfoundland, and the smashing Tory victory of 1958. They do not view the NDP as an instrument for social change but an instrument to pull the state out of the grasp of capital, to neutralize it, or at best make it amenable to their concepts of labor-management collaboration.

The NDP has no dynamic, no great purpose. It is weighed down with the sense of responsibility to the office for which it hungers.

In such circumstances it has not been possible to establish the LSA as the left wing, as the socialist caucus in the NDP. It has not been possible to integrate its forces in the NDP. There have been no currents that could give it cover, protect it from the reformist right wing, let alone provide it with an opportunity to extend its influence within the movement on any broad scale. It is this situation, not any particular error that we committed, or erroneous tactical line that we are following, that laid the basis for the expulsions back in 1955 and now again in 1963.

But the failure of the NDP at this stage to provide a broad milieu of work for socialists and the witchhunt expulsions of the majority of our present cadre is no cause to terminate our basic orientation to the NDP. While the recent election defeat will result in a further deterioration, the party has a substantial and solid base of support, particularly in the ranks of organized labor. In the minds of the more advanced workers, on the basis of their present level of experience, there is no other course open to them.

The increasingly electoral character of the NDP, the right wing's rigid control over it, the party's identification with the trade union bureaucracy, have resulted in no substantial entry of the class into its ranks. Worker militants who aspire to see the NDP become an effective fighting instrument of their class quickly come up against the apparatus and its rank opportunism and, if they don't walk away in disillusionment take a watching position on the sidelines.

In order to remain true even in a minimum sense to their socialist views, let alone renew and strengthen their cadre, the Trotskyists have been compelled to carry on regular and sustained activity outside of and independent of the NDP but within the framework of their orientation to the NDP. If the existence of the League can be said in any way to

constitute a provocation of the reformist leadership at the same time it is a fundamental requirement for the sustenance of the socialist idea which is in constant danger of being swamped in the reformist morass.

It is this "independence" of the League which is one of its main sources of strength. It is this independence, within the framework of its basic orientation to the NDP, which more than anything else has permitted it to increase its forces, to educate them and prepare them for the opportunities that lie ahead. Our recent growth and increased influence in the NDP has come not so much from what we found at hand in the NDP and the experiences that we have had there, regardless how fruitful they have been. In large part it has come from sending new elements into the NDP, fusing them with the scattering of leftists in there, limited largely to the youth, and educating them to our long-range viewpoint through activities we have been able to initiate and sustain, in many cases through our independent work.

Militants attracted to the NDP soon sense their isolation and inability to play any vital role in the movement. The League, where it has developed sufficient cadre, if it hasn't been able to recruit such militants on a wide scale, to convince them of the practicability of the socialist struggle within the NDP, nonetheless through its persistent explanation of what the real problem is, has laid up certain reserves within the class for the future showdown with the reformist misleaders.

Despite the persistent campaign waged against it by the reformists, through a flexible, a sensitive application of our orientation, the League has been able to sustain its claim that it is an integral part of the NDP. In the absence of any viable left, and the obvious inadequacies of the centrist grouplets in Edmonton, Montreal and now Vancouver, the LSA has been able to assume the appearance of the socialist left in the NDP. With some effect we have been able to pose the socialist alternative to the reformist policies of the leadership, to give expression to the doubts and the aspirations of worker militants around the party and to pose the need for a new leadership.

The LSA's orientation to the NDP makes it much more attractive a force than it would be otherwise. Our orientation to the NDP places our whole program in a realistic framework. Regardless of all its shortcomings, in its overall significance the NDP projects the need for working class power. The fairly extensive layer of workers who, in advance of their class, have already a generally correct assessment of reformism find a small revolutionary socialist group unattractive – even though they may concede that it is theoretically correct – for it can offer little immediate possibilities of struggle. Their understanding becomes therefore largely passive without perspective. Our orientation to the NDP, our projection as a socialists caucus with the aim of winning the NDP to a socialist policy makes us much more attractive and more capable of winning such forces to our side.

The merits of our orientation from this viewpoint which stands completely outside of what forces we may or may not actually have in the NDP at any given moment, must not be overlooked. Our NDP orientation places our forces, small and involved as they are in

what is largely educational work of even an academic character, in their proper perspective. It projects in broad lines the direction and possibilities of the struggle in the whole next period, thus heightening immensely our attractivity.

The persistent concern shown about us by the right wing, their constant attacks, only tend to affirm our importance in the eyes of NDPers and give validity to our ideas. All this tends to dissolve any concept that we are a small isolated group standing on the side-lines, clever commentators on passing events, and to affirm our contention that we are the nemesis of the reformist bureaucracy, harassed and persecuted for that reason.

The experience of the current wave of persecution even more than the previous one sustains the correctness of firmly maintaining our orientation. In the process of these struggles to maintain our position as an integral part of this labor party formation we have on each occasion consolidated around us new forces, at least equal if not in political experience, certainly in numbers and in enthusiasm, to those expelled. It would be completely one-sided to view the expulsions as a tragedy, only as a setback to our whole work. They are an inevitable part of the process of building, of forging the forces necessary to win the leadership of the class. On each occasion they have more firmly established Trotskyism as a serious current, as the natural, the inevitable tendency of leftward moving forces in the labor party. They have resulted in a tremendous maturing of our cadre and a growth of our combined forces.

Contrary to the aim of the party bureaucrats, their harassment and disciplinary actions against us have not led to our isolation from the movement. Testimony that their actions are not taken very seriously by rank and file activists, that the leadership does not have any real prestige and authority, is the fact that expelled comrades have been able to freely move not only around but right inside the movement even when the witchhunt has been at its fiercest.

The broader the labor party becomes, the more rooted it becomes in the organizations of the working class, particularly the trade union movement, the less will the bureaucracy be able to cut out its political opponents — that is if they too have firm connections in the class. **The present capacity of the NDP leadership to expel its opponents is not so much a sign of its strength as it is a sign of the as yet relatively weak connections it has with the class, its independence of the class.** As the labor party extends and deepens its influence in the class and we too deepen our connections, the bureaucracy will be much less able to settle accounts with its socialist opposition without gravely endangering its whole position.

It is possibly a partial awareness of this — that tomorrow, which will bring an influx of new militant workers the situation will be much less favorable — that drives the NDP brass to such reckless extremes in its current drive against us. For us this should be a source of tremendous confidence in the correctness of our course, causing us to not give way on any front and to strengthen our connections in the trade union movement.

Within the framework of our orientation the League permits us great and very necessary organizational flexibility. We are not limited to the narrow confines both formally and informally defined by the NDP. We have been able to take up causes that the NDP's commitment to the Western bloc makes difficult such as the defence of the Cuban revolution, etc., to move in and around militant pacifist circles, to intervene in the discussions that have been provoked within the Communist Party and its peripheral organizations by the Sino-Soviet dispute, etc. Through such independent activities we have been able to influence radical workers who are repelled by the cold war policies, the red-baiting of the NDP brass, (*those*) who do not understand the NDP's class significance and our orientation — and new layers of youth who are moving left, not on the basis of experiences gained in the arena of the class struggle in this country but who have been inspired by such developments as the Cuban revolution. With the continued crisis in the traditional left circles and the radicalization of new layers of the youth who the NDP does little to attract and quite obviously fears, the independent aspect of our work becomes increasingly important. Through it we can not only make immediate gains for our cadre but we are finding new forces for our NDP constituency work to substitute for those who have become marked and expelled.

The past two years has witnessed the biggest growth of our forces since the thirties. Our work has taken on a greater diversity and we have proven able to initiate actions such as we never have before. We found the resources to participate in the reunification of the forces of international Trotskyism — an action comparable in significance to the founding of the Fourth International itself. Our biggest weakness is that as yet our effective forces are largely limited to two main centers in the country. We are not actually a national movement. We have scarcely made a beginning in Quebec which is probable to be the scene of the most radical actions in all of Canada in the next period ahead. This is one of the problems that this convention must come to grips with.

His car, travelling east, went out of control, crashed up a grassy bank, and landed on top of

# NDP for 'No Reason' Bars Woman Seeking Nomination

**NORTH VANCOUVER**  
(Staff) — A would-be New Democratic candidate in North Vancouver riding was ruled ineligible for "no reason" Wednesday.

Party officials barred Mrs. Ruth Bullock, of 354 West Sixteenth, North Vancouver, from seeking nomination to contest the riding, but would not explain why.

"We don't have a reason. We just decided she couldn't run," NDP provincial president Fred Vulliamy said later.

Mrs. Bullock was ruled ineligible in a letter addressed to the meeting and signed by party provincial secretary Ernie Hall.

## 'A DISGRACE'

Mrs. Bullock termed the ruling a disgrace after she learned she could not seek a nomination but indicated she knew before the meeting that she would be barred.

Later she told the conven-



**MRS. RUTH BULLOCK**  
... ruled ineligible

tion: "Let's not have any soreheads over this. We still have to pull together to win this riding."

West Vancouver businessman Hugh Clifford, 56, and North Vancouver lawyer Peter Faminow, 46, were nominated by acclamation after the incident.

## 'DEPRIVED OF RIGHTS'

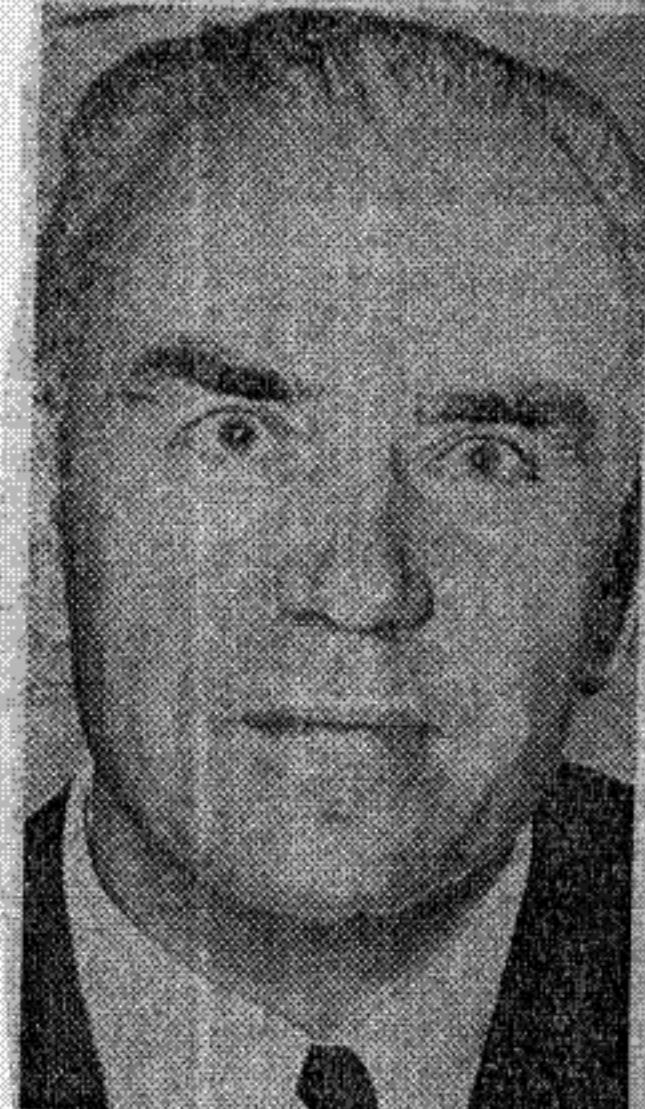
But Clifford said he felt embarrassed at being elected this way after the ruling on Mrs. Bullock.

"I think the people of this riding have been deprived of their rights as to choice of candidate," he said.

Both Clifford and Faminow face tough opposition in the riding.

It was represented in the last legislature by Liberals Ray Perrault and Gordon Gibson. Both are expected to run again.

Already named to contest



**PETER FAMINOV**  
... by acclamation

the seats for the Conservatives are Ron Bray and J. Patrick Nowlan.

And Wednesday B.C. Lions general manager Herb Capozzi said he would stand for nomination at the riding's Social Credit convention.

Faminow was defeated as NDP candidate for Coast Capilano in the last federal election.

As a district councillor, he was the first Doukhobor ever to hold public office in the Lower Mainland.

Clifford has unsuccessfully contested North Shore ridings in the 1957 and 1958 federal elections and the provincial election of 1960.

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## **NDP Press Opens Discussion on Where the Party is Going**

By Cliff Orchard

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, January 1964)

The *New Democrat*, official publication of the New Democratic Party in Ontario and Eastern Canada, has announced in its December issue that its pages are now open to "a discussion of the future development of the party".

This discussion, long overdue, has to some considerable degree been forced on the NDP leadership by the wide publicity given to the views of Val Scott, the federal candidate of the party in York Center (Toronto). Scott's views on the party's difficulties were expressed in the form of a letter addressed to federal leader T. C. Douglas.

Of extremely rightist character, absolutely unacceptable to any serious tendency in the party, these views were unfortunately used by the Ontario leadership to block discussion of more serious viewpoints. Delegates with socialist opinions who attended the November Ontario provincial council meeting were completely snowed under by the heavy fire that the party leadership directed against Scott.

The problem confronting the party as stated by *New Democrat* editor John F. Brewin. "That we cannot, stand pat is clear . . . How can this party expand and reach out to become the major political voice in Ontario and across Canada? . . . As a political party we must decide where we want to go and how we are going to get there."

Late in coming though it is, and although it follows the expulsion of almost a score of Ontario socialist youth, which has poisoned the atmosphere in many constituency organizations and inhibited a free exchange of ideas, the discussion that has now been approved can only be welcomed by the party's membership.

Socialists and militants have long anxiously awaited an opportunity to speak out on the fundamental policy problems confronting the party as revealed in the acid test of the recent series of elections, both federal and provincial.

At the same time as he gives the go-ahead to discussion, Brewin attempts to severely limit it by raising the scare of the possibilities that the party's opponents and the big business press will utilize the discussion for their own purposes. Brewin has already refused acceptance of at least one contribution. Scott himself lays this charge in justifying the submission of his views for publication in the Liberal Party mouthpiece, the *Toronto Star*. The need to discuss is real; the demand to voice opinions openly is strong, and it cannot be cut off by Brewin or anyone else!

Actually Scott's views have only one redeeming feature. There are tendencies in the party which, with its failure to win immediate success, now only see it winning power after a long wearing struggle and a slow painful accumulation of support. Scott rejects this, and believes that if certain corrective steps are taken, the party can win power now — in the immediate future. For totally different reasons, the socialists agree with this.

Scott rejects any serious attempts of the party to appeal to farmers and to the people of Quebec. But he gives no explanation of how the NDP can even hope to win power without strong support from working farmers and the French-speaking population — who alone constitute about a third of Canada's population. His direction is clearly revealed by his expressed desire to clear the party of its association with the organized labor movement in order to make it attractive to prejudiced, uncommitted middle-class voters.

One thing for sure! The party must vigorously reject any concept that it should dissociate itself from the organized labor movement. On the contrary, this identity must be more complete! As it is now, the party suffers from an identity with the labor brass, and yet has little identity with the workers organized in the unions. It has not only separated itself by its name, but also in its political agitation, which in the main is directed towards small-l liberals. Only by cementing this identity can union members be won to support what is in reality **their** party. Further, the uncommitted can be won to a party that clearly stands for the working man — but not to a party where this tie is disguised and replaced with non-class appeals which the Liberals and Tories with their greater resources and experience can do far more successfully.

The more serious of the two contributions that have appeared in the *New Democrat*, which has carried nothing from any prominent party leader, is by an M. J. Fenwick of Agincourt. He argues that a major shortcoming of the party is its "zeal to win social security for Canadians". He points out this in no way distinguishes the NDP because "All parties are more or less now committed to welfare measures pioneered and made popular by the CCF". These planks, says Fenwick; fail to inspire the electorate, fail to put forward the prospect of a prosperous future, and result in the image of "an old folk's party". The essence of his view is that the party has no real dynamic, has no effective appeal as an alternative force, projects no concept of real change, and thus leaves the electorate cold. With this we agree.

His solution however would only lead to the party being more adroit in demagogic than the Liberals and Tories. He proposes to outdo the Diefenbakers and the W.A.C. Bennetts by formulating a program that will respond to what he calls a "give me the tools — I'll do it myself" sentiment of the voter — whatever that's supposed to mean.

The matter of a future perspective can be ignored only at great peril. The Canadian people want to know where the party's program will take it -- in the long run. Is it to be merely a slight modification of the society, the capitalist society we now have, in which the automation and nuclear threat are to remain with us?

Welfare planks, unless they are a part of a broader plan, cannot win the Canadian people to the NDP. All Canadian political parties are welfare state parties. The mounting absenteeism from the polls shows that such demands no longer seriously mark one party from the other, and that the Canadian people have become indifferent to this type of politics.

While the Canadian people may not consciously recognize the need for far reaching changes, in many respects they may be said to be unconsciously aware of it. They do not live in a vacuum. They are aware of many of the results, if they are not aware of the capitalist cause, of the situations they find themselves in.

Not only does NDP welfare statism have no appeal but the leadership's persistent efforts to find an acceptable image, its continual renunciation of public ownership, its vociferous participation in the anti-red drive, have even deprived it of the precious cadre necessary to sustain a movement. We will have more to say on these problems in our next issue.

The discussion has been opened. It is to be hoped that it will extend into every constituency association and every trade union political education committee. Socialists and trade union militants have the responsibility to see that this does take place and that their views are intelligently presented.

Ottawa Professor Charges:

## CANADA GUILTY OF COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM

Canada is at least partly to blame for the war in Vietnam, in the view of an Ottawa professor who has been making a study of the handling of certain legal problems by the Canadian delegation to the International Commission for Supervision and Control.

Dr. James A. Steele of Carleton University argues that Canada has provided South Vietnam with "a false sanction" for renouncing the Geneva Agreement of 1954, "upon which the peace of that land depended".

In a well-documented paper, now available in booklet form, Dr. Steele rejects the widely-held notion that the Geneva Agreement was gradually undermined by a series of violations by both sides.

"In point of legal fact," he said, "the Cease-fire Agreement ceased to exist as an agreement as early as the spring of 1955, when the South Vietnamese government refused to honour it. From then on it continued to exist merely as an ideal for some and as a bad memory for others."

The excuse given by the South Vietnam government at the same time was that it was not a party to the Geneva Agreement and was therefore not bound to abide by it. The Agreement was signed by France before the government of South Vietnam was accorded sovereign status, but it did contain a clause binding the signatories and their successors.

The Indian and Polish members of the ICSC refused to accept as valid the South Vietnamese claim that it was not legally bound by the Geneva Cease-fire Agreement. There was good reason for refusing to recognize this claim, Steele pointed out. In Article 2 of the treaty between France and Vietnam, which established the state as a sovereign entity, the State of Vietnam had agreed to "take over from France all the rights and obligations resulting from international treaties or conventions contracted by France on behalf of or in the name of the State of Vietnam or all other treaties and conventions concluded by France in the name of French Indo-China, insofar as these affect Vietnam."

Nevertheless, the Canadian delegate on the three-man Commission presented a minority statement agreeing with the South Vietnamese regime that it was not "formally engaged" to carry out the terms of the Geneva Agreement.

The Canadian judgment, according to Dr. Steele, is based on South Vietnam's contention that it had become a sovereign state before the agreement was signed, that it made protests and reservations at the time of the signing of the agreement, and that France did not have the right to commit her to the terms of the agreement.

Dr. Steele said that the facts do not support this claim, that the truth is that France did not grant South Vietnam sovereign status until after the Geneva Accord was signed —

### MOWAT SPEECH AVAILABLE

Farley Mowat, the well-known Canadian author of "Westviking", "People of the Deer", "Never Cry Wolf", and other best-selling books, issued an outspoken statement on the Vietnam war at the Toronto conference on Canada's Role in Vietnam last Feb. 19. Copies of his statement, "Canada's Role in Vietnam", may be obtained in booklet form, from the Newsletter, at 25c each.

## Cease Bombing, Churches Urge

The executive of the Anglican Church of Canada passed the following resolution at its meetings earlier this year:

THAT this National Executive Council of the Anglican Church of Canada, in session on Friday, February 18, 1966, deeply concerned about the continued conflict in Vietnam, and the death and suffering resulting therefrom for increasing numbers of people, including the civilian population, both in South and North Vietnam:

- (1) supports the resolution adopted on February 16 by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, calling for a negotiated solution of the problem;
- (2) commends the Government of Canada for its efforts towards a solution, particularly through its mediation as a member of the International Control Commission.

Following is part of the resolution referred to in the Anglican statement passed by the World Council of Churches at Geneva:

"That the United States and South Vietnam stop bombing of the North and North Vietnam stop military infiltration of the South.

"That the United States of America now announce its commitment to a withdrawal of its troops, phased in accordance with provisions of a peacekeeping machinery under international auspices and deemed adequate in the judgment of an international authority.

"That all parties recognize the necessity of according a place in the negotiations both to the government of South Vietnam and to the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).

"That another ceasefire be mutually and promptly agreed upon, of sufficient duration to serve as a cooling-off period and as an opportunity for testing possibilities of negotiation — with considerably enlarged unit of the international control commission (India, Canada and Poland) to insure that cease-fire commitments are honoured."

so that the Vietnamese protests were without a legal basis.

"The Canadian judgment, therefore," he asserted, "was ill-founded, unjust, and fraught with evil consequences. By providing the Diem administration with a semi-judicial sanction for renouncing the Geneva Agreement, we thereby assisted in its destruction. I think we must face up to the horrible fact that we are partly to blame for the present conflict."

He added that it would perhaps be kinder to explain the Canadian judgment in terms of "stupidity" rather than "judicial turpitude".

"But if we do think of ourselves as being merely stupid," he said, "then the implications are almost unthinkable. For if, in our stupidity, we really did believe that the State of Vietnam was not bound by the Agreement, then we must have believed that the Agreement was basically unsound and invalid at the time we accepted a role on the ICSC. If so, one would be hard put to find in the whole history of international peace-keeping an example of greater bad faith than we have shown."

# Where do we go from here?

At this point it is redundant to state that a Canadian anti-Vietnam war movement is emerging. In fact, it is growing at such a rate that most of us are unable to imagine even its present size and scope.

The March 26 marches were tangible demonstrations of the horror felt by many Canadians over the war, and their antipathy to the roles of both the Canadian and U.S. governments. Marches involving about 8,000 Canadians were mounted across the country, and Vietnam became the focal point of the largest anti-war protest ever to occur in Canada.

But the marches did not occur spontaneously. They were organized through the painstaking work of those Canadians most knowledgeable about the war, and therefore most militant and committed in their opposition to it. To build such an action required that those actively opposed to the war concert their efforts and co-operate with one another — in a word, organize.

For this reason, to give substance to the thoughts and feelings of individuals and smaller groupings, Anti-Vietnam War Committees were formed, and continue to be formed. Committees arose in Vancouver, Calgary, Red Deer, Edmonton, Regina, St. Catharines, London, Sarnia, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. All across the country, revulsion for the actions of our government and our government's allies sought and found organizational forms.

### Co-operation Inspiring

The great task was the March 26 protest, and the limited time and urgency of the work overcame many problems. Co-operation reached inspiring levels, and when the day arrived we added an effective voice to the rising world voices decrying U.S. aggression.

On March 26th a start was made, and we must pose questions now which need discussion — questions flowing naturally from such an elemental upsurge over the Vietnam war, from the growing opposition of which we are a part.

The movement is young. It is involving and, hopefully, will continue to involve literally thousands of people never before interested in opposing a war, any war. Already the Anti-Vietnam War Movement is national in scope, and we must think in broader and newer terms than many of us have had to in the past.

### Two Types of Committee

Two major points come to the fore immediately when one thinks back over the build-up for the Ottawa march. When organizations first appeared they took on two basic forms. The first was a formation consisting of representatives or delegates of previously existing organizations; the second was composed of a group of individuals, many never before involved in anti-war activities, who came together to act on their general concern over this single issue. Both types of committees exist now across the country.

We must face the liabilities and assets of both committee forms squarely and honestly, so that we may better build our own committee. We must discuss as well the desirability, need and possible forms of a national Anti-Vietnam War organization.

We already have a large movement; we can and shall become larger. We must concert our actions. We must not set up unnecessary organizational structures that would only detract from the central task of building the movement. At

the same time, we must be organized sufficiently to work efficiently and maximize the results of our efforts.

Please send in your ideas and suggestions on these questions: (1) the liabilities and assets of the two major committee forms; and (2) the building of a national organization.

## MARCH 26 PROTESTS

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Geneva Accords. Unfortunately, the government was indisposed, and sent no representative to receive the brief. A handful of counter-demonstrators were present on the hill during the rally, but their provocations were largely ignored, and they were unable to dampen the enthusiasm of the marchers.

While 2,500 were marching in Ottawa, similar actions were being carried across Canada and the United States. The Vancouver march was preceded by a public meeting at which Staughton Lynd spoke, the audience donating \$500 for the Days of Protest. On Friday, the 25th, a monster Vietnam rally at the University of British Columbia drew about 3,500 students. The march itself attracted 2,500, and lasted two hours, finally ending at the City Court House, where a gathering of 4,000 heard speeches from Professor Wilmott of UBC, Alex MacDonald, NDP MLA, Ray Burns, chairman of the UBC Vietnam Day Committee, and several ministers.

The Edmonton demonstration was equally successful. Three hundred people, comprising the largest protest demonstration in Edmonton since the thirties, marched through the centre of the city, and assembled at the Legislative Building, where they were addressed by Ed Nelson, Vice-President of the Alberta NDP, Doug Murdoch, President of the Alberta Federation of Labour, Professor Ted Kemp, UA Philosophy Department, and John Burke, a UA student. The march was organized by the Young New Democrats, and attracted a wide range of organizations from various centres in the province.

### Thousands March in U.S.

Meanwhile, inspiring reports arrived from the United States, where thousands upon thousands were protesting their government's role in Vietnam. In New York alone, 50,000 people either took part in the march down Fifth Avenue, or in the Central Park rally that followed. One of the most prominent themes of the march, on posters, and in the chanting of the marchers, was "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

In Chicago, 5,000 marched; in Detroit, 1,500; in Boston, 2,000; Los Angeles, 2,000; Washington, 700. Everywhere the story is the same — opposition to the war is growing in size and militancy.

Already, in Canada, Vietnam committees have sprung up in several centres in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec around the March Days of Protest, and more will appear to carry the work of education and action around the war in Vietnam.

March 26 marked a tremendous step forward from the last Days of Protest in October 1965. It can hardly be doubted, with the good omens we have witnessed, that the next International Days in July will mark an even greater growth in the anti-Vietnam war movement.

## The N.D.P. Hardens

(General line adopted by 1966 Convention of the LSA/LSO)

*'It happens quite frequently that individuals lose their fortunes and even their 'honor' when playing cards according to the rules of the game; but classes never consent to lose possessions, power and 'honor' by observing the rules of the game of 'democratic' parliamentarism. They always decided this question in grim earnest, i.e. in accordance with the real correlation of the material forces, and, not the phantom shadow of these forces. "Leon Trotsky.*

Organizational concepts flow inevitably from program. Thus the organizational concepts of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, of the Canadian revolutionary socialists who aim to establish a socialist Canada, to overthrow the powerful capitalist class that rules this country (which, when its time comes, will struggle with the extreme resourcefulness and ruthlessness) requires an organization built on the principles of democratic centralism — a vanguard party rooted in the working class and with a professional leadership.

So it is with the leadership of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party. The politics of the social-democratic, the parliamentarist, the crass reformist leadership of the NDP determines their organizational concepts. It is in this area — in the area of organization — that the most important changes over the past five years since the party's formation, have taken place.

Politically the NDP has remained firmly to the liberal-reformist course on which it was launched. In the face of international and national developments, some of which obligate it, regardless of electoral results, to speak out, and others which even create a favourable climate for it to do so, the NDP can only be said to have moved even further to the right.

The acid test is the war in Vietnam — which glaringly exposes the imperialist character of American capitalism, which has shocked world opinion with its bestial and genocidal character, and which, with its continued acceleration threatens to leap over into China and even trigger a nuclear holocaust. Douglas, as party leader, has made one major speech — a year ago — which went little farther than the present opinions expressed by the Democratic Party "advisors" of the Johnson administration. The leadership has even undercut this for the record, tokenist speech by red-baiting the only real and vital forces of protest against the war and Canadian complicity (*including those of the Left Caucus — Ed.*)

The party leadership has said nothing about direct Canadian complicity, conducted under the agreements signed in 1958 as part of the NORAD pact (*joint US-Canada North American arctic air defence system — Ed.*) which it has been committed to oppose since the founding convention.

The NDP was committed by its founding convention to campaign for Canadian withdrawal from the imperialist military alliance of NATO (*North Atlantic Treaty Organization*) should it become nuclear armed. Even though NATO has long since become nuclear armed, and is now in profound crisis due to inter-imperialist rivalries, the leadership have not initiated any anti-NATO actions of any kind.

At the founding convention the leadership freed itself from any commitment to public ownership but presented the equivocal appearance of favoring it under “suitable” circumstances. The CPR threatened elimination of branch lines throughout the West and the curtailment of many runs, has roused widespread protest across the Prairies.

The Canadian Federation of Agriculture, along with the Alberta Federation, is urging nationalization of the CPR, and the Western Agriculture Conference is urging its amalgamation with the CNR. Yet the parliamentary leadership has had almost nothing to say.

Notwithstanding the utter falsity of giving primacy to the preservation of Confederation the NDP position on Quebec has moved away from its recognition as a nation in a two nation state. It now characterizes Quebec as a cultural factor in a two cultural nation.

That the purpose of this document is not to trace the political evolution of the NDP. For our purpose the notable aspect of the above is that it reveals political rigidity, a frozen, finished character in the NDP within a short space of five years and under the pressure of events which one might expect would favour its leftward evolution. The fact is that the formative period of the labor party can now be said to be ended.

It was this formative period, a period when the programmatic foundations of the party were being laid out, the structure formed, and the leadership sorted out, that the party could have been said to be in the greatest flux. It was in this period that there was the greatest possibility, given the overall conditions of the birth of the party, for the socialists to influence the party’s future development. This stage has ended. And it is important to assess where the party is now at.

The area of organization is an important one for it determines for whole periods the conditions under which the politics of the party in the next stage will unfold.

The NDP was not launched and did not develop out of some broad popular actions of the workers and poor farmers. Its organization does not reflect any unity of diverse, vital, vigorous forces. It has been built in the cold manner, engineered; it is a political machine. While its political base is the working class, and its treasury the organized labor movement, as a machine it is not dissimilar from the bourgeois parties. Its conventions are not forums for the determination of policy but staged hoop-las, with the super build up of the personality of leading figures, etc. Its leadership is composed of a hardened clique of former CCF (*Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, predecessor to the NDP*) parliamentarians and top layers of the trade union bureaucracy. What conflicts there were have been largely resolved. The few mavericks remaining such as Herridge have no base under them. Their incidental dissident comments are

ineffectual and are not taken seriously by the party machine nor hold against it by the bourgeois opposition whose good-will the NDP has, and has so carefully fostered.

The party was constructed by the old CCF parliamentarians who had rid themselves of the former programmatic commitments of opposition to wars “designed to make the world safe for capitalism,” and public ownership of the basic means of production, (the “Regina Manifesto”) and who wished to become independent of the grass roots movement which in recent years had despite the defection of many of the best elements, continued to restrict their maneuverability. The CCF leadership had already forged strong links with the most sophisticated sectors of the trade union bureaucracy, and with the unification of the CCL-CIO-TLC- AFL (*the new “industrial union” and old “craft union” federations*) they visualized a whole new perspective, not the least attractive aspect of which would be the much wider resources coming from an independent source that would be available to the party. The coast-to-coast anti-union drive snapped any hesitant elements of the union brass into line until they are almost without exception supporters of the NDP.

The old CCF brass and the new labor element did not come to their project with only the CCF experience behind them. They have long been students, observers, of the British Labour Party experience. Indeed it was not by accident that they had Richard Crossman come to officiate at the burial of the Regina Manifesto, and a few years later, the late British Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell, officiate at the birth of the New Democratic Party.

Gaitskell and his heirs are an encrustation on a mass popular movement with a long tradition. Over the years they have been struggling to bring it to heel, to pacify it, to turn it into a passive financing and vote gathering machine to fulfill their parliamentary aspirations. Their gravest concern has been the constituency labor parties, the popular base of the movement, in many ways popular forums of a wide spectrum of ideas from right social democratic to revolutionary socialist. (*NDP leaders Tommy*) Douglas and (*David*) Lewis learned all they could from Gaitskell and today sit at the footstool of the Wilson leadership. Social Democracy through them has brought to the New Democratic Party of Canada almost none of the positive aspects of its early days and all of the negative features of its political decay.

The NDP was designed from the start by a hardened social democratic clique composed of CCF parliamentarians and trade union bureaucrats to be a political machine, to supply needed funds, and necessary campaign workers. Any tendency towards a “movement” composed of diverse tendencies where there would be a free discussion of programmatic questions is an anathema to this clique.

They are deadly opposed to a democratic labor party. Whether the new mass labor party had been launched on a liberal reformist program or not, if it were democratic, one could expect that, on the basis of the developing class struggle it would provide an arena for contending views and allow the party to find its way to the necessary revolutionary program. But this democracy has drastically declined. The democracy of the NDP has taken on more and more of the content of democracy in the bourgeois democratic state which the NDP leadership aspires to rule. It has become more and more a trapping, a fig-leaf, to cover over the machine. What the membership

say and does is increasingly determined by the apparatus, the parliamentary leadership and the trade union brass who have more and more freed themselves from the base. That is where the real power is: not in the convention. It was no accident that the Ontario NDP convention, given the theme of Automation, was not a convention at all but a seminar — known jokingly as the Automated Convention. The brass conducted themselves in a manner not at all untypical of those whom they aspire to replace when they framed the expulsion law, after the charges had been laid and the expulsion a fact in 1963.

When we criticized the character of the 1964 Riverdale and Waterloo South campaigns, conducted according to the Stephen Lewis (*Jr.*) formula, as not building a movement, as “victories built on sand;” as far as the leadership were concerned we missed the whole point. So too were all the resolutions to the Regina convention, appealing to the party to programmatically demark itself from the bourgeois parties. Of course a non-programmatic campaign fought on the same basis as the bourgeois parties, that said nothing that would risk alienating an elementary protest vote against the disarrayed Liberals and Tories, that concentrated on a super-mobilisation of all possible forces for saturation distributions of personality appeals — would not build a movement. **The leadership do not want a movement. Their concept of politics is to be as much like the bourgeois parties as possible to permit the easiest possible transition to the NDP. They are parliamentarians par excellence — leaders who seek to be free from all commitments, free to determine what is good and when it is good for the masses, for whom politics are much too devious and too serious a business for their participation. (Ed. emphasis)**

Their policy is at the most to no more than make the record on the big crucial issues of the day. By this means they anticipate that advanced elements, with no other choice, will consider that it is at least worthwhile to go along. Their main ploy is to establish an image of respectability, of integrity and efficiency. To identify with such issues as opposition to Canadian complicity in Vietnam risks this image. Their gestures are tokenist and clearly understood by the Liberals and Tories at this time as such and they are also agreeable to overlook them — they have their own interests in not making them partisan issues. The continued decay of the bourgeois parties, the scandals that are rife in them opens up new possibilities in their minds and convinces them of the efficacy of their “responsible” appeals. The party leadership have interpreted the last federal election results, which saw an increase in NDP votes from 13% to 18%, as a “breakthrough” — as “the emergence of the NDP from a splinter group to a major political force.” The possibilities of success in this parliamentary game became even more apparent to them in Quebec where, for all their identity as a federal party, an English party, the NDP vote shot up 60% from its 1963 total — rose from 7.6% to 12% despite the fact that the party has no organization. At the beginning of the year there were only 500 NDP members in Quebec and at the time neither the CNTU nor the QFL (*the two major Quebec union federations*) supported the NDP. So confident in an ultimate parliamentary victory, they possibly also wished to evade a programmatic confrontation with the Lesage Liberals that they felt able to cynically ignore the current Quebec elections and casually talk of the next one. Laberge (*leader of the QFL-CLC*) made the fatuous statement that “we think that the day is not far away when the workers will take their destiny in their own hands through a truly popular provincial political party.”

The Ontario leadership has expressed the conviction that the Ontario membership, already at last year's record, will be doubled — at 35,000 or more by Fall. The Saskatchewan membership, although the party suffered an ignominious defeat there in 1964, is at an all-time high of over 30,000. The Alberta section, always the weakest section in the West, has risen in recent month to a record 8,000 members. The NDP has been shown by the last elections to have an explosive potential in Quebec. Thus we have the anomaly that the membership of the NDP is in the ascendancy, that the voting base of the movement is widening, there is a distinct possibility that the party will win in the coming Ontario elections — and the party constituency associations are almost empty shells — electoral machines.

In 1960, on the eve of the formation of the NDP it was clear that there were no forces within it or coming up through it that could present themselves as a serious indigenous socialist tendency. We took it upon ourselves to intervene as effectively as possible in this formative period by presenting the *Vanguard* as the press of the socialists in the labor party. At the same time we attempted to present the LSA as the legitimate organization of the socialist wing in the NDP.

At our 1963 convention we said that "Our comments of 1960 that 'we are for a federated labor party, for the LSA to be recognised as an affiliate of the Labor party', in reality only expressed the aim and spirit of our orientation. The reality forced on us was the barring from membership of many of our leading cadre, and the imposition of a semi-clandestine character on our work in the NDP itself, and the perspective of the achievement of our objective through a whole process of expulsions, splits and unifications."

The 1963 convention met as a large proportion of our youth, who because of the looser character of the NDY were our most important active connection with the NDP, were being expelled in both BC and in Ontario.

The expulsions, and the fact as we recorded it, that there are no genuine native currents in the movement that have arisen on the basis of experiences of the movement in the class and holding any extensive possibilities for the left, brought out an opposition on the floor of the convention. Vancouver delegates Douglas and Percy announced their opposition to our whole orientation to the NDP. Since that convention the LSA has been officially proscribed both in BC and Ontario. There have been further expulsions and it would appear that there are more in the immediate horizon.

The document adopted by the 1963 convention, while not designed to do so, answered the opposition to our NDP orientation, in part. It pointed out that regardless of "the failure of the NDP to provide a broad milieu of work for socialists, and the witch-hunt expulsions of the majority of our present cadre — the party has a substantial and solid base of support, particularly in the ranks of organized labor. In the minds of the more advanced workers, on a basis of their present level of experience, there is no other course open to them."

This comment rings even more true today than in 1963. Support for the NDP has not declined. On the contrary. The number of trade union affiliates continues to rise. Last

November's election showed an increase. If it can be said to have been modest on a national scale — 13% to 18% — it significantly was highest in the urban areas across the country, rising to 29.5% of the total Toronto area poll. We have no reason whatsoever to question the leadership's contention that support for the NDP is increasing. It would seem almost inevitable, if only due to the continued crisis of the bourgeois parties.

The document went on to comment on our “regular and sustained activity outside of and independent of the NDP, but within the framework of our orientation to the NDP” — the open work of the LSA.

“The LSA’s orientation to the NDP makes it much more attractive a force than it would be otherwise. Our orientation to the NDP places our whole program in a realistic framework. Regardless of all of its shortcomings, in its overall significance the NDP projects the need for working class power. The fairly extensive layer of workers who, in advance of their class, have already a generally correct assessment of reformism find a small revolutionary socialist group unattractive — even though they may concede that it is theoretically correct — for it can offer little immediate possibilities of struggle. Their understanding becomes therefore largely passive, without perspective. Our orientation to the NDP, our projection as a socialist caucus with the aim of winning the NDP to a socialist policy makes us much more attractive and more capable of winning such forces to our side. The merits of our orientation from this viewpoint, which stand completely outside of what forces we may or may not actually have in the NDP at any given moment, must not be overlooked. Our NDP orientation places our forces, small and involved as they are in what is largely educational work of even an academic character, in their proper perspective. It projects in broad lines the direction and possibilities of the struggle in the whole next period, thus heightening immensely our attractivity.”

We have nothing to take away from this aspect of our NDP orientation. We never allowed the social democratic leaders through the previous expulsions to cut us off from those workers already in the labor party. We did not panic and adopt a sectarian attitude to the NDP, to the Canadian working class only still beginning in any substantial numbers to seriously think in terms of independent labor politics. We maintained our orientation. We sent new recruits into the NDP through which we were able to establish now connections with advanced elements in the class.

The NDP work of the revolutionary socialists has always been long range. It commenced with the dissolution of the CCF in conflict with centrist elements (largely in BC) who sought to hold onto the corpse and oppose the growing involvement of the trade union brass which they myopically equated to the trade unions themselves. The next phase of our struggle was to help assure that the new party would be a labor party, contrary to the efforts of a wide range of forces, from the New Party Clubs all the way to the Communist Party, to direct it into the morass of liberal-labor coalition politics.

In the entire formative period of the party we played down the independent and internationalist character of the League. We attempted with every resource at our disposal to

enter into the policy debates, to popularize the class, the socialist viewpoint, to actually shape the policy of the party, in the seminars and in all the conventions.

But already at our last convention we were making adjustments in our work, completely within the framework of our NDP orientation. We recognised that the NDP was taking on a harder form, that room for maneuver was decreasing and that now opportunities to widen the base of the cadre, not finding reflection in the NDP, were unfolding across the country.

“Through such independent activities” we noted, we have been able to influence radical workers who are repelled by the cold war policies, the red-baiting of the NDP brass, who do not understand the NDP’s class significance and our orientation — and new layers of youth who are moving left, not on the basis of experience gained in the arena of the class struggle in this country but who have been inspired by such developments as the Cuban revolution. With the continued crisis in the traditional left circles and the radicalization of the youth who the NDP does little to attract and quite obviously fears, the independent aspect of our work becomes increasingly important. Through it we can not only make immediate gains for our cadre but we are finding new forces for our NDP constituency work to substitute for those who have become marked and expelled.”

What does it mean to say that the formative period of the NDP is ended? It does not mean that our work in the NDP has ended, but that our work has entered into a new phase when for the next period we do not visualize new radical elements entering into the constituency organizations which themselves are going to continue to be less political and less responsive to any motions in the class and more and more involved in the mechanics of an electoral machine.

**It means that the NDP remains the focus of all our politics — but not the centre of our activities. (Ed. Emphasis – “not necessarily the centre”)**

**It means that (1)** we shall continue to encourage membership in the NDP and to work in the NDP. But our actual involvement in the constituency associations other than during elections and other broad activities, that it is possible the leadership may encourage and that bring new forces around, should be scaled down. We should now adjust to the real tempo of the NDP. We should be much more cautious in choosing the grounds which might bring us into conflict with the machine, which is now entrenched and more disposed and more capable of cutting us out. We should not get trapped into disputes that take on the character of power struggles but should operate in full cognizance that for a stage the policy of the movement has been decided, and present our views in a more cautious and educational manner.

While it is true that the period is profoundly revolutionary and that we should be prepared for rapid turns in events and new opportunities it is clear that the NDP is going to be far less responsive than heretofore and for an extensive time.

**It means (2)** we should pay more attention to our NDP work in the trade unions. We should seek ways and means to increase the participation of the union rank and file in politics and on a more day-to-day basis. We should work out ways of vitalizing the political action bodies — demand regular reports be given the membership meetings, press for resolutions and discussions on stands that the MPs are taking or should be taking. It would seem certain that the unions, much more than the constituency organizations, are going to more rapidly register new moods and new turns to the left of the class.

**It means (3)** that, completely within the framework of our identification with the NDP, we direct much more time and energy to the activities of the independent forms of the movement.

The cadre has to be built and to be built now! The main possibilities for this growth lie in the public work of the independent forms of the movement. We have to make more of our forces available for this independent work.

We need to spend more time and energy on our press — making it a more effective instrument of our program and on a vastly increased scale.

We need to strengthen the centre so that we can give leadership — so that we can more firmly cement the connections that we have been establishing over the past years and give direction to our growing forces.

The NDP being the main area of our work, our 1963 document ended up with the challenge that: "We are not actually a national movement. We have scarcely made a beginning in Quebec which is probably to be the scene of the most radical actions in all of Canada in the next period ahead. This is one of the problems that this convention must come to grips with."

Since then the movement has sent 7 comrades to Montreal — 2 of them leaving subsequently for other areas. Our Quebec work has been our single most important achievement over the past three years — not the least aspect of which has been the publication on a regular basis of the French language *La Lutte Ouvrière*.

Our comrades have moved boldly and effectively in and around the many formations that the ferment in Quebec has thrown up. Most of these organizations have proven to be transitional, some even somewhat ephemeral. We however took tactical adaptations to some of them.

The movement requires a detailed study of the working class movement in Quebec, to assess whether the revolutionary vanguard party is going to develop independently or through a labor party based on the unions. Prominent in such a study would be an analysis of the NDP and whether or not we should already be preparing our forces there for the formation of a Quebec NDP as the mass labor party formation.

*(end)*

# canada VIETNAM NEWSLETTER

## March 26 Protest Biggest Yet

### WHY THE NEWSLETTER ?

You are now reading Volume 1, No. 1, of the CANADA VIETNAM NEWSLETTER. The Newsletter is produced in Ottawa by the Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam. This issue is a sample of a projected monthly publication designed to be the expression of the burgeoning Canadian movement against the war in Vietnam.

The Newsletter originated at a meeting in Ottawa on March 26 when activists against the war from Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and Alberta urged the Ottawa Committee to take on the Newsletter project. The same meeting established rough guide-lines for the Newsletter. It is projected that the Newsletter serve four basic functions:

- (a) That it present the most relevant and newsworthy aspects of the war in Vietnam;
- (b) that it report on Canada's complicity in the war;
- (c) that it report on anti-Vietnam war activities and on the growth of the Movement with special reference to Canada;
- (d) that it provide a forum for the presentation and discussion of projects, activities and organizational forms of the Canadian Movement.

A newsletter such as this can play a vital role in building a powerful, broadly-based movement to end the war in Vietnam. It can assist in the day-to-day work of bringing new people to action. It can inform us of anti-Vietnam war activities on a national basis and thereby enable concentration on efforts to increase their effectiveness. It can provide a regular means for discussing the problems that a new movement such as this must face; problems such as how to organize to serve our own aims best. No serious group, organization or movement of any sort can exist without a regular service of information, communication and discussion of mutual problems.

Please present the bulletin to your committee, your union local, your church group or to your fellow workers. Urge support for the Newsletter. Utilize it yourself to keep up to date on the facts about the war and Canadian complicity in the war. Utilize it to present your ideas for activities and projects. Help us to finance the Newsletter and, hopefully, with your co-operation the Newsletter will grow, the Movement will grow. Join with us. Support the Newsletter.

\* \* \*

Extra copies of this Newsletter and orders for the next can be obtained from:

The Ottawa Committee to End the War in Vietnam  
at P.O. Box 2352, Stn. "D", Ottawa. Price 10c per  
copy.

### 8,000 Participate Across Canada

The March 26 march was the largest and most successful anti-war demonstration Ottawa has ever seen, with over 2,500 people participating. One has only to compare this with the last Vietnam demonstration in Ottawa one year ago, which attracted fewer than 100 people, to judge the growth of popular sentiment against the war in Vietnam.

It all began last December when the Ontario Young New Democrats officially decided to issue a call for an Easter March on Ottawa to oppose the war in Vietnam, and to call for an end to the complicity of the Canadian government in the war. The OYND convention in mid-February moved the date forward to March 26 to coincide with the International Days of Protest. At the same time, a conference in Toronto of 1,000 concerned individuals and representatives of churches, trade unions, and peace groups issued a similar call for a parallel action on the 26th.

The march was widely publicized in major centres across Ontario and in Montreal, which sent three busloads to Ottawa on the 26th. Numerous building actions such as seminars and poster campaigns preceded the demonstration; radio and TV stations carried news of the action, and a full page advertisement, purchased by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* on Friday, the 25th, signed by leading representatives of churches, peace groups, and political organizations, as well as university professors.

Although other centres carried their own protests, the Ottawa action drew participants from as far away as Vancouver and Edmonton — in Ontario alone, London, St. Catharines, Sarnia, Oshawa, Peterborough, Kingston and Toronto were represented — Toronto by a contingent of no less than 1,200 who arrived in a train specially chartered by the Toronto Co-ordinating Committee.

#### Rally on Parliament Hill

The demonstrators marched along downtown Ottawa streets and then assembled on Parliament Hill for a rally. Speakers were Mme Therese Casgrain of VOW, Gerry Gallagher of the TLU, John Scott Cowan of the YND, Art Pape, of SUPA, Colin Cameron of the NDP, and Pierre Bedard, of the Parti Socialiste Quebecois.

The marchers planned to present a brief to the government, calling for negotiations to end the war, and a return

(Continued on Page 4)

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OTTAWA'S  
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PEARSON  
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# canada vietnam NEWS LETTER

The Voice of the  
Anti-Vietnam-War  
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# canada vietnam NEWS LETTER

The Voice of the  
Anti-Vietnam-War  
Movement

OCTOBER, 1967

PRICE 10c

Notes on the Anti-War Movement

(The following are the main conclusions of the anti-war discussion in the July 6-11 Plenum, as drawn up by a committee of the Plenum.)

1. The building of a mass, single-issue anti-war movement in Canada remains one of the main priorities of the Canadian section. The Vietnam war is the pivot of the counter-revolutionary military actions of imperialism, and as revolutionary internationalists, we bear the responsibility of defending the Vietnamese revolution by building the Canadian anti-war movement. Despite the fact that Canadian armed forces are not fighting on Vietnamese soil, Canada is engaged in the war through political, diplomatic, ideological and commercial complicity of the Canadian ruling class. As well, the geographic and cultural proximity of Canada to the U.S. gives us a unique role of support and encouragement to the U.S. anti-war movement. Further, we have advantages which the U.S. movement lacks: a labour party which is formally against the war; a trade union movement which has condemned the war in its highest bodies; and a strong anti-military tradition among one-third of the population--French Canada. While the less direct involvement of Canada in the war has cushioned the impact of the war here, compared to the U.S., this impact will grow as the war continues to escalate. Our perspective is not one of limited support actions, but of the building of a mass movement.

2. Although the country-wide organization projected in the 1966 convention document has not been built, important gains have been made. Membership committees have been built in many points, particularly Montreal and Toronto, and strengthened in Vancouver. The April 15 action in Vancouver saw a deepening of trade union involvement, and increased NDP support. July 1, in terms of participation from across the country, was the most significant action taken by the movement to date. SAEWV, while still weak, is a viable country-wide organization. April 15 in Vancouver and July 1 in Montral show the possibility of building broad coordinating committees around specific mobilizations. These mobilization committees are the most effective form of broadening the movement. They are more flexible than permanent coordinating committees which are often dominated by the old CP-pacifist groups which have been long since bypassed by the opposition to the war in Vietnam.

3. Anti-war work has become one of the main activities of our branches. Through this work we have confronted and worked with other tendencies. Young militants have not only been brought into direct action against the war, but have seen the Communist Party, the sectarian groups on the left, and the NDP leadership for what they are. As a result, anti-war work has been the major source of recruitment for our movement. In the next period, recruitment from this area should be given added priority. The LSA/LSO must present itself openly in the anti-war movement. We must present a rounded alternative to the capitalist war drive so that militants attracted by the fight against imperialist war can be most easily brought to the revolutionary socialist alternative. Militants need more than the single-issue opposition if they are to continue to see perspective in the battle.

4. The single-issue character of the committees must be maintained if the movement is to reach the broadest layers of the population, and if it is to involve organizations, groups, and individuals of different political persuasions. But while insisting on the single-issue character of the committees, we must much more clearly present Trotskyism as an open tendency in the movement. Publicly known spokesmen for our movement should sit on leading bodies of these committees, particularly where the committees have already become established, where they contain independents or representatives of other tendencies. In the coming period more material arguing the class alternative to the war drive and the war must be presented in the name of the LSA/LSO to anti-war militants. We must draw further generalizations on the question of Canadian complicity. Canada's position in the imperialist war alliances-NATO and NORAD--must be related to Canada's support for the war. The demand to end all complicity, in-

cluding the demand to withdraw from NATO and NORAD will be raised by the LSA/LSO.

5. Anti-war militants can be mobilized for major actions, but we have experienced considerable difficulty in getting them involved in the day to day routine of the anti-war committees. Membership committees are the vehicle for building a mass anti-war movement--free from the domination of the CP-liberal-pacifist bloc, and strong enough to push the trade unions and NDP into action. It is essential that we constantly work to strengthen these committees; that we work to make them much broader than ourselves; that we encourage independent activists and representatives of other groups or tendencies to play a central role in these committees and in their leading bodies. In that context we should be organizationally flexible; meetings should be planned to ensure the broadest attendance and participation; leading bodies should be able to add militants to themselves so soon after an experience with them as possible.

6. The anti-war movement will become a mass movement in Canada, with the most profound repercussions on the U.S. only if the major organizations of the working class become involved. It is our responsibility to get the NDP and trade union movement to take supporting actions to build mobilizations, rallies, etc., and to generally solidarize themselves with the movement.

7. We will have to build close working relations with trade union militants in order to get the trade union movement involved. We should mobilize pressure on the leading bodies of the union movement to become identified with the anti-war movement. This has already been done to a limited extent in Vancouver (April 15) and a beginning was made in Montreal for July 1. Leading figures such as Neale, Laberge, Finn, are useful as sponsors and are necessary links between the anti-war movement and the trade union movement as a whole. Such connections must be carefully fostered and expanded. Trade union rank-and-file anti-war committees can become a reality only when the union bureaucracy has proved to be hostile to trade union anti-war action and if there is some feeling in the ranks of the union movement for such committees.

In general, the same applies to Vietnam work in the NDP. Opposition to the war and support for anti-war actions is much broader than the forces around the Socialist Caucus at this time. We should use channels separate from the Socialist Caucus to pressure the Party into anti-war work, and avoid identifying the demand for anti-war action with the Socialist Caucus. Where possible prominent NDPers on the constituency and higher levels should be encouraged to take a leading role in proposing anti-war actions. (The Socialist Caucus, of course, should continue to make the demand for anti-war action a central part of its program.)

8. The main slogans remain "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" and "End Canadian Complicity". In fact these have become the predominant slogans in Canada. We must continue to struggle to make these the primary demands of the anti-war movement, and to fight the advocates of negotiations and those who want the movement to limit itself to protesting only the bombing of North Vietnam. These demands implicitly blame both sides in the conflict. While pushing the anti-imperialist slogans our primary task is the building of a massive anti-war movement. We argue for our two main slogans, but must always bear in mind that we intend to build the biggest and broadest anti-war demonstrations. Even minimal themes like "End the War in Vietnam" are acceptable, as long as the demonstrations are non-exclusive, with freedom of slogans. In such circumstances our slogans will easily become the predominant ones. However we must strongly resist any attempt to make "End the Bombing" or "Negotiate Now" the main slogans of the anti-war movement. If made the themes, these demands restrict slogans to liberal do-goodism and appeals to the consciences of the militarists.

9. In planning mobilizations we should attempt to get the broadest possible involvement. Our objective is to build the broadest and most powerful mobilization against the war. As for exposing our opponents, this will take place in the course of events as they carry an opportunist or sectarian line. Although our main objective is to involve the trade union movement and the NDP, the CP is very important--primarily

because of the negative role it plays. This was shown on July 1. By its Trotsky-baiting and its separatist-baiting it was a factor in limiting the size of contingents, particularly in Ontario. In the smaller centres of Ontario and Western Canada, the CP still has a stronghold in the peace movement. In Vancouver the strength of the CP means that it is very difficult for us to make important breakthroughs, particularly to the trade unions, without at least its indifference if not its support. We must be sensitive to this negative role, try to neutralize the CP and its periphery, and patiently struggle to win its anti-war periphery away from it.

10. The Canada/Vietnam Newsletter, in addition to its basic work of broad education, and of giving direction to the activists, continues to do the work of binding together the movement on a Canada-wide level. All branches must circulate it and ensure that it gets the material it needs to be an effective voice of the anti-war movement. The October 21 Mobilization will be the next major anti-war action in Canada. It must be made a Canada-wide action. A CVN tour of Canada right after the beginning of the school term would be a great asset in building this action and would strengthen the CVN as the coordinator of the movement in Canada.

# THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA

brief submitted to the  
Royal Commission by the  
League for Socialist Action/  
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

10 cents



"NOW, MOTHER, YOUR CHILD IS PERFECTLY SAFE--FROM POLIO

## The Status of Women in Canada

Brief submitted to the government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women, from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière – April 1968

As an organization seriously concerned about all problems concerning the people of Canada, the League for Socialist Action / La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière welcomes the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission, in the questionnaires it has circulated, has asked some pertinent questions regarding Canadian women and the law. But while an examination of the law is both revealing and necessary, it is our opinion that the problem of women's status, which is that of an inferior in all respects, lies deeply below the surface of society and involves fundamental aspects of the economic and social structure.

In Canada we have developed our natural resources on such a scale as to clearly demonstrate the real possibility of liberating all sections of the population from social and economic insecurity. But if men are not yet free – woman is less free because she is further enslaved by her sex. We maintain that the attitudes and prejudices both reflected in and sustained in law and custom that tie woman to what has been called a second class citizenship, are embedded in the very foundations of present day society and that a fundamental change in this society will be required to eradicate them.

The situation confronting women in Canada — a developed industrial society — demonstrates all the more clearly the profound character of the problem. The high standard of living, advancing birth control techniques, extensive legal rights, access to all levels of education — all these have contributed towards the emancipation of woman and have helped free her from the hardships that have traditionally burdened her down.

### Contradictions

But what is the real situation? — technology has rendered housework almost obsolete. But despite the fact that more and more married women are entering the labor market (note 1) large numbers continue to function almost entirely outside the social mainstream, tied by a thousand threads to the maintenance of the home — women have the right to vote, to run for public office, to own property. Yet the political and economic life of the country remains dominated by a minority of men — the federal government has recognized the concept of equal pay for equal work. Yet in some provinces the law actually condones wage inequality between men and women. Even where equal pay legislation is on the books, women receive substantially lower wages for doing the same

work as men(note 2). While the trade union movement is in the forefront of this struggle, it has not yet won it – it is conceded that women and men have equal mental capacities. Yet early in the school years, women are systematically streamed out of the analytical subjects and channeled into less creative, less prestigious and less rewarding areas. (note 3). Women have the right to higher education and to work in the professions. Yet the number of women who actually graduate from college is far lower than men, and with the exception of nursing, librarianship and teaching, women compose less than 10 percent (as low as 3 percent in some) of the main professions in Canada.(4) Even in those professions where women are the majority, men hold nearly all the key positions — advancing birth control techniques give women increasing control over their bodies. Yet thousands of unwanted babies continue to be born and many illegal abortions are performed at great risk and loss of life.

### **What Must Be Done?**

These contradictions point to the fact that woman's inferior position in society, is not merely a result of custom or law, but is deeply rooted in the existing social and economic order which they sustain. How are we to solve these problems? The implementation by the government of the following program would constitute the first necessary steps to allow woman to take her place as an equal partner in society.

(note 1) Women must be freed from her traditional responsibilities for the child — the child has the right to everything that society can provide, regardless of the resources of the parents. Parents should not be burdened with providing for the child but every facility should be available for the full development of the child. A far teaching system of government-financed facilities including nursery schools and day care centers must be established. In this way those women who prefer employment outside the home would be able to seek it. Those who prefer to be homemakers should receive a wage from the state. The family, through the imposition on its slender resources of the responsibilities of society as a whole, has taken on many of the forms of a prison. With the implementation of these propositions, the family could freely evolve into a harmonious relationship between human beings.

### **Birth Control, Abortion**

(note 2) Woman must have complete control of her body —the government must initiate a widespread educational campaign on birth control and establish community birth control centers for the dissemination and distribution of birth control information and devices. Both of these projects should be financed by the government. Any and all restrictions on the right of women to determine whether or not to bear a child should be removed.

(note 3) Special measures must be taken to ensure that women benefit fully from the educational system – all educational fees must be abolished and an income provided for students adequate to meet their essential needs while attending school – all educational institutions must be co-educational — all classes must be co-educational, with the presently all-female home economics courses dropped and substituted with a general living course which would equip both girls and boys to take care of themselves — women should be given special encouragement in the analytical fields, such as math and sciences, in order to compensate for the social prejudices which now exist and which discourage them from developing their individual abilities in these areas.

## **Write Women Back Into History!**

School text books should be completely rewritten to exclude sex discrimination. Women must be written back into history! Not only are fundamental questions about the changing role of women through the ages still unexplored, but it is only recently that a start has been made in straightening out the slanders against the feminists (note 5) – it is only lately that we have learned of great and brave women who fought along with men for social progress in the past. How many more valiant women are buried in history? Would not women today be inspired to hear of them! A retelling of history would banish forever the myth of feminine inferiority!

(note 4) All barriers excluding women from equality in the area of work must be removed – the minimum wage must be the same for women and men in all provinces – sex discrimination in job classification must be eliminated – all employers must be required by law to grant generous maternity leave with full pay.

While implementation of these demands would not secure full equality for women, it would pave the way towards this objective.

But why haven't *even* these requirements for woman's emancipation been achieved? And why do women appear not to have taken advantage of the opportunities that presently exist? There are two standard answers that are given. One is that woman's "nature" is such that she is incapable of rising to a state of equality with men. The other (our answer) is that class society has enslaved woman and continues to do so to this day through capitalist society.

## **The Myth of Woman's Inferiority**

It has often been stated that women are predestined by their biological make-up to center their lives around child rearing and the home. Biology equals destiny. This view holds that both woman's intellect and psychology are affected and conditioned *by* her maternal role. "Women are not necessarily inferior to men. They are just different." This view maintains that the beautiful qualities of femininity, "receiving, keeping and nourishing" (6) are contained only in woman and must not be sacrificed by woman taking on other roles. Woman is presented as a unique and mysterious creature. This is a most beguiling presentation of the myth of feminine inferiority, one that at the same time enshrines and debases her. This view argues that woman not be legally discriminated against, only condemned forever to her special role. These concepts are nothing but a rationalization of the situation that now prevails — and there is no truth in them.(7) We reject these pronouncements based on some timeless concept of the essential "nature" of man and woman. It is not woman's "nature" that has placed man at the pivotal position in present day society.

There was an extensive period in human history of far greater duration than what is known as western civilization when society revolved around woman, not man. We are led to accept the idea that woman has always been the "second sex." The role of woman in primitive times has been hidden from us. This is the period in social and productive relations known as the matriarchy. It was woman who invented agriculture, tool-making and architecture, who first domesticated animals, while primitive man, who spent prolonged periods on the hunt, was isolated from the community. This period, which stretched over hundreds of thousands of years, came to an end, not due to any belated resurgence of an essential "nature"(8) of woman but due to the development of class society.

## **What Determines Woman's Status?**

It was only with vast changes in social productive relations that woman's role in society changed. An examination of the varied role woman has played in history shows that it is the social productive relations and her relation to them that determined woman's social rule and position. From the matriarchy — the social relations of primitive communist society — has evolved what we know today as capitalism. Here too the social forces determine woman's role. The main feature of this society is the private ownership of the means of production and their utilization solely for the profit of those owning them. An appreciation of this is vitally important to the understanding of the present situation of woman.

Woman has been relegated to the role of raising and training the next generation of workers, and on occasion, when required, has been thrust directly into the work force herself. Woman has been shunted on and off the labor market to meet the needs of an unplanned and profit motivated economy.

During World War II women's services were required to keep up wartime production. The way was opened for them to enter the work force. Nursery schools and day care centers were built. All the traditional myths and concepts about the duties of woman were shoved aside. The first responsibility of woman was to leave the home, put children aside, and assume the role that heretofore had been declared the domain of man. A new atmosphere was created which showed itself everywhere in popular magazines and advertisements. These featured spirited and independent women with different dress, different hairstyles, and a different psychology. This process came to an abrupt halt with the close of the war when her services were no longer required and an atmosphere was generated to reverse it.

## **Capitalism the Source of Inequality**

This incredible reversal within a decade shows that woman's role in this society — capitalist society — is determined by the needs of this society, i.e., the interests of the dominant class in this society, the capitalists, and not the interests of the great majority, the working class, both male and female.

The implementation of the propositions advanced in the first part of our presentation — complete freedom for a woman to decide whether or not to bear a child — wages for homemakers — community responsibility for children, etc. — these would vastly improve woman's position in present-day Canadian society. But their chief significance lies not in the establishment of this or that individual right. At best they lay the foundations from which the whole struggle to free womankind can move forward.

We have referred to the experience of the World War II and post-World War II years in Canada. The experience of German women — under the post-World War I regime where they made great gains only to have them brutally wiped out overnight under the fascist dictatorship of Hitler with its "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" is also worth noting.

## Full Partnership — Under Socialism

As long as capitalist society prevails whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy. The implementation of these proposals would represent a marked advance towards removing capitalism, the social and productive basis of woman's subjugation; and at the same time take us forward to the establishment of a new society — socialism.

Woman is victimized both on account of her sex and her state as a worker. Hence she is doubly oppressed. Woman must seek a society that knows no inequalities of sex, race, or class. Equality for woman — free partnership with man — cannot be found in an unjust and exploitative society. It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full disposal of humanity, where the economy is planned to meet human need and where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society.

### Footnotes

1. Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. P. 6, table 1 p.7. 2
2. *Chatelaine*, January, 1968. "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women: Will It Do Any Good?"
3. Paul Herst, *A Commentary on the Motivation and Education of College Women*. National Association of Women Deans and Counselors Journal, Jan., 1962, #25, pages 51-59.
4. Department of Labor, *Occupational Trends in Canada 1931-1961*. Report #11; page 57, chart I; page 60, chart 4; page 40, table 4.
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8. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*.
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## Some Key Reading on the Situation of Women

by Ruth Blake (*Ruth Tate – Ed.*)

One of the many injustices women share with oppressed minorities is the constant distortion not only of their history, but of their abilities — biological, intellectual and social. Lack of reliable information, as well as the abundance of debasing images and

half-truths will be a problem for women who want to prepare a case for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

No doubt it is in recognition of this that the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has recently published a 42-page bibliography of material relevant to the Royal Commission. This most useful and thorough list can be obtained from the Department of Labor. Meanwhile, here is an outline of a few of the books and articles that have been useful in the preparation of the brief, and which help present a clearer picture of the historical, social and economic roles of woman.

Two fundamental aspects of woman's history are her role in pre-history when she was a paramount social force, and the struggle for legal emancipation. For a Marxist analysis of the matriarchy, the subsequent shift in property relations and to male dominance, the basic work is *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Frederick Engels, the close associate of Karl Marx; while *The Mothers* by Robert Briffault gives a vivid and detailed portrait of this period.

As far as women's suffrage is concerned, Catherine Cleverdon's *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* seems to be the only book available to Canadian women on this vital part of their past, and this is unfortunate. While there is no doubt that equal property laws and the vote were attained with relative ease by Canadian women (usually inspired by the dynamism of events in the United States and largely won, with the exception of Quebec, by the early 1900s), the author's coy style, her referrals to "hardships and heartaches" and her many reassurances that Canadians decried the "violence" of the British and American struggles makes uninspired reading. Surely it was not all tea parties and petitions?

## American Suffrage Movement

In contrast to this, in form as well as content, some excellent books have recently appeared on the American suffrage movement. *Woman's Rights* by Eleanor Coolridge is a brief, but very moving picture of the important American feminists, excellent as an introduction; Eleanor Flexer's *Century of Struggle* is far more political and thorough, with emphasis, for the first time, on the part played by labor and black women. Both books make it clear that the battle for woman's rights ebbed and flowed with the tides of other forms of social protest, like the abolition movement, although the two were far from always being in harmony. It is not unusual, then, with the world today in turmoil, that woman should begin, after a long silence, to be concerned about her status. The appearance of these books is an indication of the rising consciousness.

## On Woman's Role

On general questions of woman's "nature" and role, Margaret Mead's famous *Male and Female* is useful. For although the famous anthropologist draws incorrect conclusions, as Betty Friedman points out in *The Feminine Mystique*, the data Mead gives on the multiplicity of roles played by women in the various tribes she studied points in another direction. Concerning maternity, Alice K. Rossi in her article "Equality between the sexes" (*Women in America*, editor Lifton) shows that the American mother's exclusive attention to her children is a historical first. She then powerfully documents the case against full time motherhood.

When the time comes to get down to specific situations, Canadian women can arm themselves well with evidence of their unequal state with statistics, charts and tables provided in concise form by the Canadian Department of Labor. The pamphlets *Women at Work in Canada (1964)* and *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-61* can be bought for less than a dollar and graphically demonstrate that Canadian women are consistently paid unequal wages in low paying, low prestige work, and that little to no advance has been made in the professions by women.

With these facts at her disposal, and with the correct analytical tools, woman should be able to swim against the tide of misinformation that seeks to keep her in her place.

\*Woman must have complete control of her body. Birth control devices and information freely available to all. The removal of all restrictions on abortion.

\*Special measures to ensure that women have complete access to education. Abolition of fees and an income provided to students; universal co-education; special encouragement in analytical fields. Write woman back into history.

\*For a family that is a harmonious relationship between human beings. Free educational facilities for children from birth to maturity. This would permit women to seek employment outside the home. A state wage for those who choose to be homemakers.

\*For complete equality of women at work.

# Statut de la Femme



## **Voici le mémoire à la Commission Royale d'enquête sur le statut de la femme**

*par la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action.*

En tant qu'organisation intéressée à tous les problèmes auxquels doit faire face le peuple canadien, la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/ League for Socialist Action accueille favorablement l'établissement d'une Commission Royale sur le Statut de la femme. La Commission, dans les questionnaires qu'elle a fait circuler, a posé quelques questions pertinentes concernant les femmes canadiennes et la loi. Mais si l'examen des lois est à la fois révélateur et nécessaire, nous pensons que le problème du statut des femmes — qui est un statut d'infériorité, à tous égards — se situe bien au dessous de la surface de la société et implique des aspects fondamentaux de la structure économique et sociale.

Au Canada, nous avons développé nos ressources naturelles à un niveau suffisant pour prouver clairement la possibilité réelle de libérer toutes les couches de la population de l'insécurité sociale et économique. Mais si les hommes ne sont pas encore libres, la femme est encore moins libre parce qu'elle est encore plus enchaînée par son sexe. Nous affirmons que l'attitude et les préjugés, à la fois reflétés et soutenus par la loi de les coutumes, qui assujettissent la femme à ce qu'on a appelé une citoyenneté de seconde classe, ont leurs racines dans les fondements mêmes de la société d'aujourd'hui et que leur déracinement requiert un changement fondamental de cette société.

La situation à laquelle font face les femmes au Canada — une société industrielle développée — démontre d'autant plus clairement le caractère profond du problème. Le haut niveau de vie, les techniques avancées de contrôle des naissances, des droits légaux étendus, l'accès à tous les niveaux de l'éducation — tout cela a contribué à l'émancipation de la femme et l'a aidée à se libérer du joug qui l'a traditionnellement écrasée.

Mais quelle est la situation réelle?

- la technologie a fait des soins du ménage une occupation presque désuète. Mais en dépit du fait que de plus en plus de femmes mariées entrent sur le marché du travail (1) un grand nombre continue à vivre presque complètement hors du cours principal de la société, attachées par mille liens à l'entretien du foyer.
- les femmes ont le droit de voter, d'entrer en lice pour la fonction publique, de posséder des propriétés. Cependant, la vie politique et économique du pays reste dominée par une minorité d'hommes.
- Le gouvernement fédéral a reconnu le principe du salaire égal pour un travail égal. Pourtant dans certaines provinces la loi ferme les yeux sur l'inégalité des salaires entre hommes et femmes. Même là où la législation du salaire égal est inscrite dans les livres, les femmes reçoivent en substance des salaires plus bas pour le même travail que les hommes.(2) Bien que le mouvement syndicaliste soit au premier plan de cette lutte, il ne l'a pas encore gagnée.
- il est admis que les femmes et les hommes ont des capacités mentales égales. Pourtant dans les premières années scolaires, les femmes sont systématiquement détournées des matières analytiques pour être orientées vers des secteurs moins créateurs, moins prestigieux et moins rémunérateurs (3)
- les femmes ont le droit à l'éducation supérieure et le droit de faire carrières. Cependant, le nombre de femmes qui sont présentement graduées du collège est beaucoup plus bas que le nombre d'hommes, et à l'exception des carrières de bibliothécaires, d'infirmières et de professeurs, les femmes représentent moins de 10% (moins de 3% dans certaines branches) des professionnels dans les carrières principales au Canada.(4)
- les techniques avancées de contrôle des naissances donnent aux femmes un contrôle accru sur leur corps. Cependant des milliers de bébés non désirés continuent à naître et beaucoup d'avortements illégaux sont pratiqués, entraînant de grands risques et des pertes de vie.

**Que faut-il faire?**

Ces contradictions démontrent le fait que la position inférieure de la femme dans la société n'est pas simplement le résultat de l'habitude ou de la loi mais est profondément enraciné dans l'ordre social et économique existant dont elles sont l'armature. Dans quelle position sommes-nous pour résoudre ce

problème? La réalisation par le gouvernement du programme suivant constituerait les premiers pas nécessaires pour permettre à la femme de prendre sa place en tant que partenaire égale dans la société.

1) La femme doit être libérée de ses responsabilités traditionnelles envers l'enfant.

L'enfant a droit à tout ce que la société peut lui procurer sans considération des ressources des parents. Les parents ne doivent pas avoir la charge de subvenir aux besoins de l'enfant, mais toutes les facilités doivent être disponibles pour la plein développement de l'enfant. Un système de grande envergure de facilités financées par le gouvernement comprenant des écoles maternelles et des garderies de jour doit être établi. De cette façon, les femmes qui préfèrent un emploi à l'extérieur seraient en mesure de le chercher. Celles qui préfèrent être ménagères devraient recevoir un salaire de l'État. La famille, parce qu'on impose à ses maigres ressources les responsabilités de la société tout entière a pris en grande partie l'allure d'une prison. Avec la réalisation de ces propositions, la famille pourrait évoluer librement dans un climat harmonieux de relations entre êtres humains.

2) La femme doit avoir la contrôle complète de son corps.

Le gouvernement doit prendre l'initiative d'une large campagne d'éducation sur le contrôle des naissances et établir des centres de contrôle des naissances pour la communauté afin de faire connaître et de distribuer les renseignements sur la contraception et les contraceptifs. Ces deux projets seraient financés par le gouvernement. Cela supprimerait toutes les restrictions sur le droit de la femme à décider si elle veut ou non avoir un enfant.

3) Des mesures spéciales doivent être prises pour que les femmes bénéficient pleinement du système d'éducation.

- tous les frais de scolarité doivent être abolis et un revenu fourni aux étudiants, suffisant pour combler leurs besoins essentiels pendant qu'ils fréquentent l'école.
- toutes les institutions scolaires doivent être mixtes.
- toutes les classes doivent être mixtes avec la suppression des cours d'art ménager exclusivement féminins et leur remplacement par un cours général qui permettrait à la fois aux filles et aux garçons de se débrouiller.
- il faudrait encourager les femmes tout spécialement dans les secteurs des maths et des sciences afin de compenser les préjugés sociaux qui existent actuellement et qui les découragent de développer leurs aptitudes individuelles dans ces domaines.

Il faudrait complètement réécrire les manuels scolaires pour enlever la discrimination due au sexe. Il faut rétablir le rôle des femmes dans l'histoire! Non seulement des questions fondamentales sur le rôle changeant des femmes à travers l'histoire restent encore inexplorés mais ce n'est que récemment qu'on a commencé à se battre contre les calomnies à l'endroit des féministes(5) et tardivement que nous avons entendu parler de grandes et courageuses femmes qui se sont battues aux côtés d'hommes pour le progrès social dans le passé. Combien de femmes vaillantes sont enterrées dans l'histoire? Les femmes ne trouveraient-elles pas aujourd'hui de l'inspiration à entendre parler d'elles? Une nouvelle version de l'histoire bannirait pour toujours le mythe de l'infériorité féminine.

4) Il faut supprimer toutes les barrières excluant les femmes de l'égalité dans le champ du travail.

- le salaire minimum doit être le même pour les femmes et les hommes dans toutes les provinces.
- il faut éliminer la discrimination due au sexe dans la classification des emplois.

\*Il faut légalement obliger tous les employeurs à donner de généreux congés de maternité à plein salaire.

Si la réalisation de ces revendications n'assure pas l'égalité totale pour les femmes, elle paverait cependant le chemin vers ces objectifs.

Mais pourquoi ces exigences pour l'émancipation de la femme n'ont elles même pas été réalisées? Et pourquoi les femmes semblent-elles n'avoir pu profiter des possibilités qui existent actuellement? On

donne deux réponses types. L'une est que la "nature" de la femme est telle qu'elle est incapable de s'élever à un niveau d'égalité avec l'homme. L'autre (la nôtre) est que la société de classes a enchaîné la femme et la fait encore jusqu'à nos jours, à travers la société capitaliste.

## LE MYTHE DE L'INFÉRIORITÉ FÉMININE

On a souvent avancé que la femme est prédestinée par sa constitution biologique à centrer sa vie sur l'éducation des enfants et sur la maison. La biologie égale la destinée. Cette perspective affirme qu'à la fois l'intellect et la psychologie de la femme sont influences et conditionnés par son rôle maternel. "Les femmes ne sont pas nécessairement inférieures aux hommes: elles sont simplement différentes." Cette perspective affirme que les belles qualités de féminité "recevoir, garder et nourrir"(6) n'existent que chez la femme et ne doivent pas être sacrifiées à d'autres rôles qu'assumerait la femme. La femme est présentée comme une créature unique et mystérieuse; c'est une des plus trompeuses présentations du mythe de l'infériorité féminine qui en même temps l'auréole et la dégrade. Cette perspective prétend qua la femme ne doit pas subir de discrimination légale mais est simplement condamnée pour toujours à son rôle spécial. Ces concepts ne sont rien d'autre que la rationalisation de la situation qui prévaut actuellement, et ils ne contiennent aucune vérité.(7) Nous rejetons ces affirmations basées sur une conception atemporelle de la "nature" essentielle de l'homme et de la femme. Ce n'est pas la "nature" de la femme qui la placé l'homme à une position-pivot dans la société d'aujourd'hui.

Il y a eu une longue période dans l'histoire de l'humanité d'une durée beaucoup plus grande que ce que nous connaissons en tant que civilisation occidentale où la société tournait autour de la femme, non de l'homme. Nous sommes portés à accepter l'idée que la femme a toujours représenté "le deuxième sexe." On nous a caché le rôle de la femme dans les époques primitives; c'est la période dans les relations sociales et les relations de production, connue sous le nom de "matriarcat." C'est la femme qui a inventé l'agriculture, la fabrication des outils et l'architecture, qui a la première domestiqué les animaux, tandis que l'homme primitif, qui passait de longues périodes à la chasse, était isolé de la communauté. Cette période qui s'est étendue sur des centaines de milliers d'années, s'est terminée non pas à cause de quelque tardive résurgence de la "nature"(8) essentielle de la femme mais à cause du développement de la société de classes.

C'est seulement avec de larges changements dans les relations sociales de production que le rôle de la femme a changé. Un examen du rôle varié que la femme a joué dans l'histoire montre que ce sont les rapports de production sociale et ses relations avec eux qui ont déterminé le rôle social de la femme et sa situation. Du matriarcat — système de rapport sociaux de la société communiste primitive — est issu ce que nous connaissons aujourd'hui comme le capitalisme. Là aussi, les forces sociales déterminent le rôle de la femme. Le trait principal de cette société est la propriété privée des moyens de production et leur utilisation exclusive pour le profit de ceux qui les possèdent. Il est vital d'apprécier ce fait pour comprendre la situation actuelle de la femme.

La femme s'est vue reléguer le rôle d'élever et d'éduquer la prochaine génération de travailleurs et à l'occasion, quand c'était nécessaire, a été jetée directement dans la force de travail elle-même. La femme a été ballottée sur et hors du marché du travail pour combler les besoins d'une économie non planifiée motivée par le profit.

Durant la deuxième guerre mondiale, on a recouru aux services des femmes pour maintenir la production du temps de guerre. On leur a ouvert la voie pour entrer dans la main-d'œuvre. On a construit des écoles maternelles et des garderies de jour; on a balayé tous les mythes et concepts traditionnels sur les devoirs de la femme. La première responsabilité de la femme était de quitter la maison, mettre les enfants de côté et assumer le rôle qui jusqu'alors avait été déclaré domaine de l'homme. Une nouvelle atmosphère fut créée qui se traduisait partout dans les revues populaires et dans la publicité. Elles préparaient des femmes d'esprit, indépendantes, habillés différemment, avec un nouveau style de coiffure et une psychologie différente. Ce processus s'arrêta brusquement avec la fin de la guerre quand on n'avait plus besoin de leurs services et on créa l'atmosphère pour le renverser.(9)

## LE CAPITALISME, SOURCE DE L'INÉGALITÉ

Cet incroyable renversement de situation en une décennie montre que le rôle de la femme dans cette société — société capitaliste — est déterminé par les besoins de cette société, i.e., les intérêts de la

classe dominante dans cette société et non pas les intérêts de la grande majorité, la classe ouvrière, à la fois masculine et féminine.

La réalisation des propositions avancées dans la première partie de notre présentation

- liberté complète pour la femme de décider si elle veut ou non avoir un enfant
- salaire pour les ménagères
- responsabilité de la communauté pour les enfants, etc. ...
- amènerait largement la promotion de la femme dans la société canadien d'aujourd'hui.

Mais leur signification essentielle ne réside pas dans tel ou tel droit individuel. Au mieux, elles posent les bases d'où peut partir la lutte tout entière pour la libération de la femme. Nous nous sommes référés à l'expérience de deuxième guerre mondiale et des années d'après-guerre au Canada. L'expérience des femmes allemandes qui après la première guerre mondiale avaient obtenu des gains considérables pour se voir les balayés le lendemain, sous la dictature fasciste d'Hitler, avec ses "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche" — mérite aussi d'être notée.

Aussi longtemps que la société capitaliste régnera, quels que soient les gains que la femme obtienne, sous forme matérielle et sous forme de statut, ceux-ci seront toujours provisoires et en danger. La réalisation de ces propositions représenterait une avance notable contre le maintien du capitalisme — base social et productive de l'asservissement de la femme: et en même temps nous ferait progresser vers l'établissement d'une nouvelle société — le socialisme.

La femme est opprimée à la fois à cause de son sexe et de sa condition d'ouvrière. Elle est ainsi doublement opprimée. La femme doit lutter pour une société qui ne connaît pas d'inégalité de sexe, race ou classe. L'égalité pour la femme — libre partenaire de l'homme — ne peut se trouver dans une société injuste et exploiteuse. Elle ne peut exister que dans une société où les grands moyens de production créés par notre effort collectif, sont à la pleine disposition de l'humanité, où l'économie est planifiée pour satisfaire les besoins humains, et où la production se développe pour son utilisation humaine — dans une société socialiste.

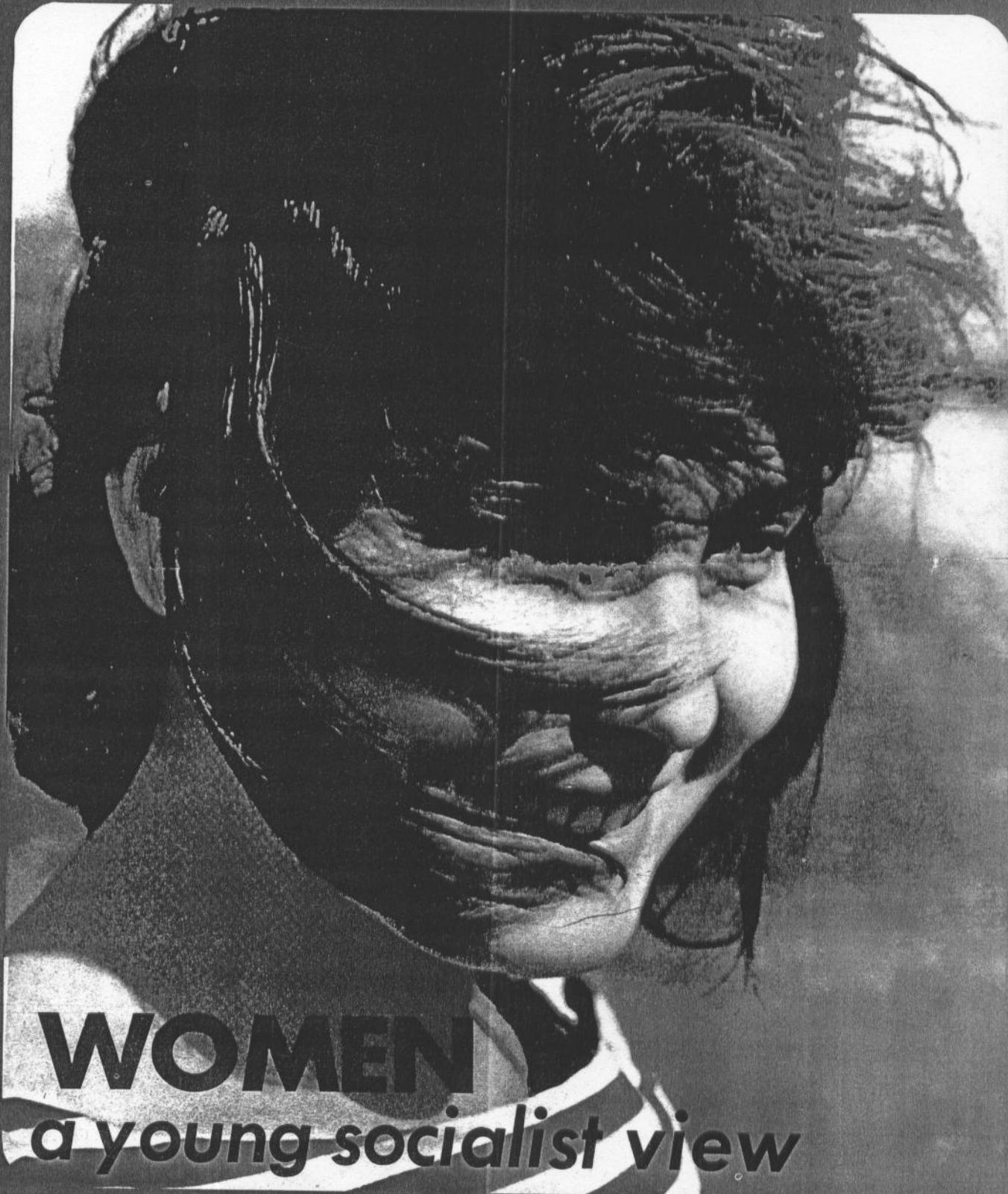
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1. Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. Page 6, table 1 , page 7.
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5. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. Chapter 4 "The Passionate Journey."
6. Karl Stern. *The Flight From Woman*. Chapters 2 and 3.
7. Eve Merriam, *After Nora Slammed the Door*. Part IV, "Sex and Semantics," pages 216-218.
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9. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. "The Happy Housewife Heroine," pages 32-35.

# young socialist forum

May-June 1968

15 cents



**WOMEN**  
a young socialist view



From

# Human Being to Dancing Doll

-in 16 short years

In response to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada set up by the government, we of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes have set up our own commission to study the situation of women, and particularly young women, in Canada. The Royal Commission has received 285 briefs from individuals and organizations and is presently holding public hearings in all the major cities across the country. The following is the brief of the YS/LJS prepared by our commission.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"What do you want to do when you grow up, little girl?" "I want to be an astronaut, like mommy."

An interesting thought, but this is not the way the little girl responds. By the time she is 6 years old she is already aware of her role in society. She knows that few challenging opportunities lie before her, that her role will be a limited one. She wants to be "a lady like mommy."

In the first eighteen years of her life a young girl undergoes a rigorous training program designed to direct her toward a specific social and economic role. All of her pre-school training at the hands of her parents and all of her formal education is designed to

a girl's prime interest. At the same time as boys are given special encouragement to study, the propaganda machines tell a girl it's social suicide to be smarter than her boy friend. Magazines like *Glamour*, which ran an article last February entitled "How To Be Outspoken Without Paying Too High a Price", instruct the girl on the fine points of her role.

Secondary school girls are consciously steered away from the maths and sciences into commercial and arts courses, thus preparing them for relatively unskilled, underpaid jobs. They are prepared for their special role in the economy — that of a reserve of labor to be shunted on and off the labor market to meet the economic needs of the moment (as took place during World War II when women were rushed into the work force only to be shoved out again when their services were no longer required.) Girls invariably outnumber boys in the commercial courses, in some provinces by a ratio of ten to one. Home economics is almost solely confined to girls and industrial arts to boys.

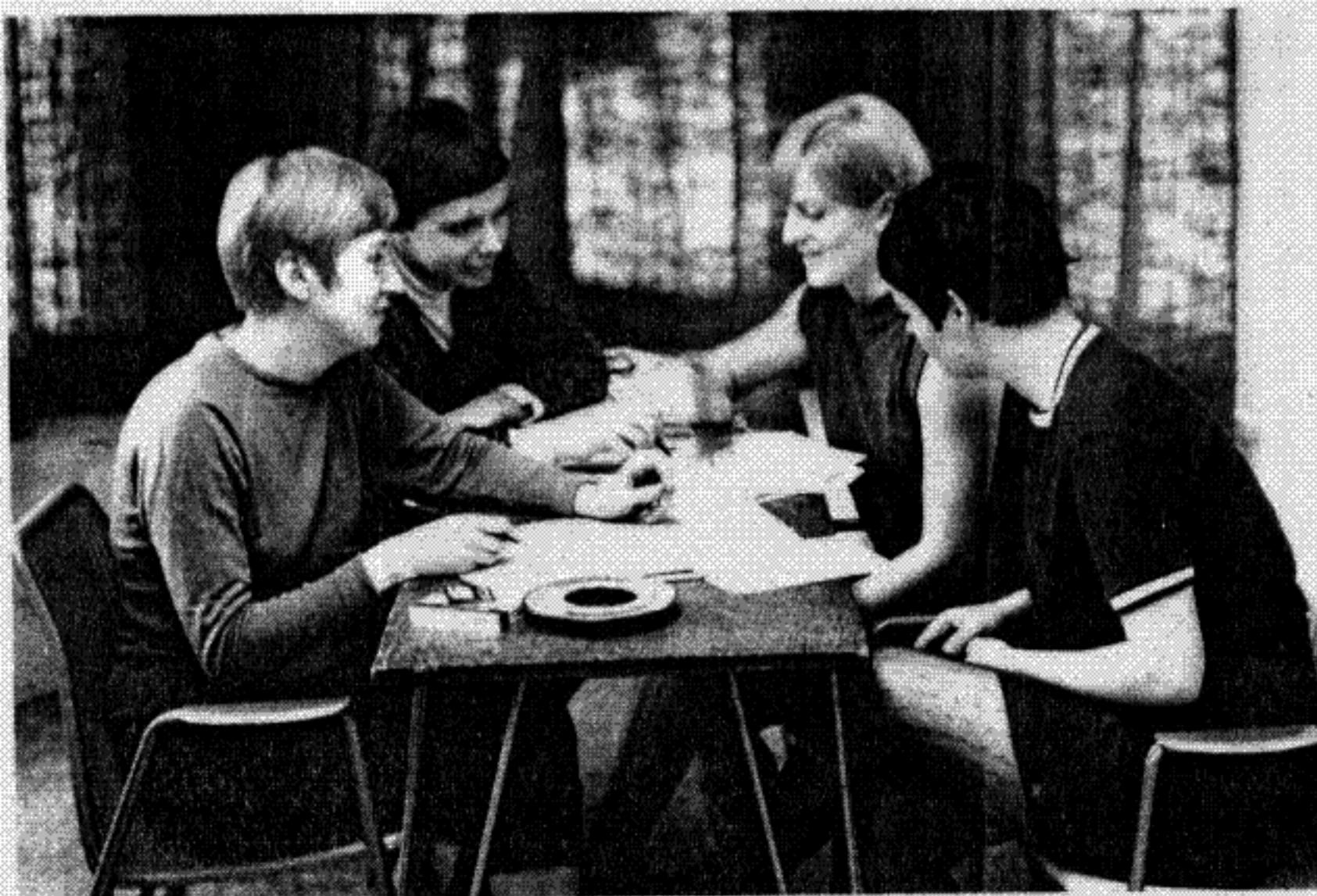
The segregated health and physical education classes teach boys and girls to accept the double standard. If she doesn't know already, the young woman learns in her health class just exactly what society expects of her. Here she learns that she mustn't "go too far" with a boy or she will lose her "most precious asset". This motto of the high school teachers is echoed by every advertisement every television program, everything in society. They all tell her to use her body to

get a man. As the *Toronto Daily Star*, March 30 edition, stated in one article — "YOU'LL RATE AS DATE-BAIT IF YOU TAKE THESE TIPS". Her sex is used to sell everything from Fords to Prime Ministers. Her future, she is told, is in the bedroom and the kitchen. There she'll earn her keep.

These overwhelming social pressures drive teenagers into "forbidden" sexual relationships, while at the same time denying them access to birth control. As a result, 75 to 100 women at University of Toronto, for example, have illegal abortions each year. More than 55,000 teenagers in Canada marry every year, many as a result of unwanted pregnancies. The health courses which provide detailed, diagrammed information about the functioning of the pituitary gland tell the young girl nothing about birth control. To go to a doctor and ask for the pill is a big step in itself, and even then she has no guarantee the doctor will help her. Too often she musters the courage only after her first pregnancy.

The 1961 census showed that slightly more girls than boys were enrolled in school between the ages of five and fourteen. At fifteen the percentage of girls started dropping, until college age, where only half as many women as men enrolled. Even those few women who do go to university are concentrated in the arts courses. Society directs them to university for one purpose — to get a MAN. And since society is training them for this role of marriage and motherhood, why

(Continued on page 12)



Some members of the YS/LJS commission working on the brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.



(Continued from page 5)

should it pay attention to educating them? It shouldn't, concludes Jack McArthur, financial expert for the *Toronto Daily Star*, who represented a powerful trend when he wrote in his January 30th column:

"If this valuable commodity (education) must be used to best advantage, how do female students rate? Obviously, low. Having received a university education, partly or largely paid for by the state, they are far more likely to fail to use it. Can the state regard this as fair, when it may have kept an almost as talented male out of university in order to educate the family? No, it is not fair. Possibly, then, the state may depart from the policy of complete equality to give at least some marginal preference to males."

University of Toronto, the key university in training the leaders of Ca-

nadian business, contains many crude examples of discrimination against women. Hart House, to which all U of T male students belong, only allows women into its hallowed halls after 2:00 p.m. — and even then they must be outnumbered by the men! Massey College, U of T's elite college for graduate students, also excludes women. University of Toronto Schools is an elite private school for boys, financed by U of T through public funds.

This whole process, from her mother's knee to the university, systematically molds the woman to accept what has been described as second class citizenship. With all the propaganda and prejudices of society directed against her, it is no wonder that woman, despite the many gains she has made, is unable to take advantage of the opportunities that are theoretically open to her. Betty Friedan in her *Feminine Mystique* makes an analogy with the women of China:

"... But what would have happen-

ed if, before a single generation of Chinese girls had grown up with unbound feet, doctors, hoping to save them from pain and distress, told them to bind their feet again? And teachers told them that walking with bound feet was feminine, the only way a woman could walk if she wanted her man to love her? And scholars told them they would be better mothers if they could not walk too far away from their children? And peddlers, discovering that women who could not walk bought more trinkets, spread fables of the dangers of running and the bliss of being bound? Would many little Chinese girls then grow up wanting to have their feet securely bound, never tempted to run or walk?"

Yes, just as many little Canadian girls grow up accepting their exclusion from whole areas of human activity. Girls are born with the same basic capacities to cope with the world as boys. It is only after they are born that society binds their feet and minds.

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Simon Fraser Univ. Young Socialists, c/o Brian  
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It is class society, the same society that rests on the oppression of all workers and the double oppression of racial minorities, it is this society that relegates women to their role as inferior beings.

Discrimination against women is not a mere surface aspect of life in Canada. From birth, formal training and social pressures from every conceivable source direct women toward their proper "feminine" role. The roots of this discrimination lie not in "human nature" but in the foundations of the capitalist economy. As we have seen, women form a reserve of cheap labor to be moved on and off the labor market according to the needs of the economy and as such they represent a constant threat to the wage gains of all workers. Women are the main stabilizing force in the family, which plays a major role in molding children to fit the requirements of a profit-motivated society. A reform in one or two aspects of this society would improve the status of women, but could never bring full equality. As long as Canada is owned by a small minority and run for their profit against the interests of the vast majority, there can be no equality — for men or women. The Canadian economy must be publicly owned and planned in the interests of the working people.

Toward this end, the Young Socialists-Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes call on the government of Canada to free women from the sole responsibility for child care, so that they may participate in other activities as they wish. We see child-rearing as the most important responsibility of our society, and think that society should provide the child with all it has to offer, regardless of the parents' resources. We call for an extension of the school system to include a far-reaching system of day care centres available free of charge for all working and studying mothers.

We demand Student Power — an end to big business control of the educational system. Unlike big business, students have nothing to gain from the oppression of women.

All grants, fellowships, and scholarships must be without sex restrictions. School fees must be abolished and living allowances paid to students so that education is available to the children of the working class. This is especially important to women since it is often they who must work in order to pay for the education of their brothers and husbands.

All schools and classes must be co-educational. All school residences should be co-educational and available free of cost. All subjects must be open to both sexes with special encouragement given to women in those fields from which they have traditionally been excluded. The textbooks must be rewritten to eliminate both overt and subtle discrimination against women. Women must be written back into history! Students should learn of the inspiring role of women in primitive society, the role of pioneer women in Canada, and the brave women who won the basic legal rights for their sex.

We call for a replacement of home economics and industrial arts courses by a compulsory general living course so that we don't train cooks who can't change a fuse, and carpenters who can't fry an egg.

We believe that the right to control her own body, to choose when she wants to bear children, is a basic right of all women, regardless of age. We demand free birth control information and devices be available for all girls and women of child-bearing age. Free abortions should be legal and available upon request. Co-educational sex education must be part of every curriculum and begin in the early grades.

"we demand free birth control"

Women must have equal opportunity to work in any field with no pay differentials or other discrimination.

The implementation of these demands would not solve the whole problem of women's inferior status, but it would be an important advance toward a society where men and women can freely develop their capacities as human beings, a society in which there would be no basis for discrimination of sex, colour, age or class. It would mark a big step towards the establishment of a society in which the economy is planned to meet human needs, not a society where human needs are warped to serve the interests of profit — a big step towards socialism.

## The Status of Women in Canada

brief submitted to the  
Royal Commission by  
the League for Socialist  
Action/Ligue Socialiste  
Ouvrière

April 1968

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TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES PHOTOS

A mounted police officer is surrounded by demonstrators protesting the Vietnam War outside the U.S. consulate on University Ave. in 1968.

# canada vietnam NEWS LETTER

**The Voice of the  
Anti-Vietnam-War  
Movement**

SEPTEMBER, 1968

PRICE 10c

## INTERNATIONAL VIET PROTEST ON OCT. 26th

The national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, meeting in Chicago, has issued a call for co-ordinated international protests on October 26th. Further information will be carried in the October Newsletter or may be obtained by writing directly to the Newsletter.

by Marlie Ritchie

The National Continuations Committee of the Student Mobilization Committee which met over the weekend of June 28 and 29 had two important results — one, it called a national conference on Labour Day weekend to iron out the political differences in the SMC and it recommended a mass anti-war demonstration in the fall.

It was felt that the large demonstrations were needed to register popular opposition to the war in Vietnam at a time when world attention would be focused on American war policy during the election campaign.

The committee also agreed that it was of prime importance that the anti-war movement expose Johnson's latest cover-up for escalating the war. It was felt that the Paris negotiations were being used by Washington to continue to escalate the war and that the anti-war movement must not be disoriented by such talks. The resolution passed by the Continuations Committee stated: "The Vietnamese, of course, have every right to use the nego-

(Continued on Page 4)

# NO CANADIAN TROOPS FOR VIETNAM WAR

by the Editors

With the expectations of the Paris Peace being shattered by the reality of continuing combat in Vietnam, a recent leaflet circulated by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee in Toronto points out that recent Canadian military and political events have raised the spectre of Canadian troops serving on the jungle battlefields of Vietnam.

During the recent federal election campaign Prime Minister Trudeau indicated his government's concern over the direction of the war when he stated "... it would be a mistake to ask the Americans to pull out without sending in some kind of international force to insure that there is no invasion of south Vietnam." (emphasis added)

### UN Force Possible

With the Pentagon still unable to make military progress in Vietnam and the Paris talks bogged down in the niceties of diplomatic etiquette, it is not excluded that President Johnson or his successors might seek to halt the Vietnamese revolution through the use of a United Nations "peace keeping" force. Undoubtedly Canada, with the Pearson Image still fairly intact, would play a leading role in seeing that "south Vietnam is not invaded" and thus continue to admirably support U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Because of Canada's membership on the International Control Commission, past Canadian government's, and the present Trudeau government, have insisted on active participation in talks establishing the terms of any international military intervention in Vietnam such as a UN force.

Such speculation is not out of place when one recalls the many government statements supporting UN "peace keep-

ing" operations, not to mention our participation in them. This theory is reinforced when Canadian troops, already integrated and made highly mobile for immediate dispatch to world "trouble spots", are being trained in counter-guerrilla warfare at Camp Petawawa north of Ottawa.

### Guerrilla Training at Petawawa

The training at Petawawa is the latest in a whole series of schemes that have taken Canadian troops to such distant training areas as Alaska, Libya, Puerto Rico and Australia.

According to a CBC newsman, Camp Petawawa "has all the facilities for training troops including a south-east Asian village." Continuing his July 7 report, Ed Cosgrove remarked "... but they wouldn't let us near that (the village)," indicating that the Canadian government isn't yet ready to announce to the country that our sons are being trained to destroy peasant villages, Pentagon style.

Following training in winter fighting in Alaska and desert warfare with the British early this spring in Libya, Canadian troops got right down to the essentials — training in jungle counter-insurgency in Puerto Rico and Australia.

The Puerto Rican war games on the island of Vieques, a training camp for Vietnam-bound U.S. Marines, had all the elements of the real thing. Puerto Rico had just won independence from the "Consolidated States of Amigo" when following internal revolutionary events, a neighbouring country "Fantasia" intervened on the side of the revolutionaries. "Amigo" was unable to lend assistance due to military engagements elsewhere, and so — enter the Canadians under the neutral guise of the United Nations, to take on

(Continued on Page 2)

## ANTI-WAR LEADERS OPPOSE U.S.S.R.'S CZECH INVASION

The following is the text of a statement released by two leaders of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, Joe Young and Rev. Vern Kimball:

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee bases its position on Vietnam on the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination. We cannot be silent when this right is violated in Czechoslovakia. The Kremlin has prevented the Czechoslovak people from their own road to socialism, much in the same way the Americans have attempted to suppress the national liberation struggle in Vietnam.

The USSR's just protest against American aggression in Vietnam is gravely undercut by their actions in Czechoslovakia. Their reasons for being there are just as falla-

cious as the American State Department employs in the case of Vietnam.

The supporters of American aggression in Vietnam, like Prime Minister Trudeau and Foreign Affairs Minister Sharp, are "disappointed" by the events in Czechoslovakia. Their words are so much hypocrisy when matched with their shameless role as munitions suppliers and diplomatic apologists for American attacks on Vietnam.

We, who have consistently supported the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination, stand behind the Czechoslovaks as well. Self-determination is the right of all peoples. The people of Czechoslovakia are no exception.

# WAR CONTINUES WHILE PARIS TALKS STALEMATE

by Joe Young

Reading the daily press you might get the impression that there is no longer a war in Vietnam — unless you're intrepid enough to venture into the back pages. There you can read about the war which continues to ravage Vietnam and its people. The press tries to feed peoples hopes that the Paris peace talks will lead to an end to the war. The April 27 protests were pictured by the papers as the last dying gasp of a movement which no longer had meaning.

How does this image of reality stack up with the facts? It is interesting that an all-out effort was ordered by the U.S. military just before the Paris talks began. As the *New York Times* reported "the directive (for an all-out offensive) was sent out on May 6 three days after the United States agreed to meet with North Vietnam officials in Paris and four days before the talks began."

### Record Casualties

This certainly seems to belie the peaceful intent of the U.S. government. We all know that the U.S. suffered record casualties in the first two weeks after the talks began and that the casualty figures for the first six months of this year equal those of 1967.

The war continues to be very real for the Vietnamese people and the American GI. The war machine is still being fed daily with the bodies of Americans who don't even know why they are fighting. The American government has not eased off its attacks but has increased them. The largest U.S. military operation of the war was begun after Washington agreed to meet with the North Vietnamese.

Meanwhile the talks are dragging on, month after month with no progress whatsoever. When the Vietnamese offered to refrain from bombing and committing other acts of war against the territory of the United States in return for a reciprocal agreement by Washington, U.S. Ambassador Harriman termed the proposal "fantastic". Instead of negotiating about when and how they will withdraw, the American "statesmen" have used the talks as a means of pacifying American public opinion while they escalate their pillaging.

### The War Is Not Over

The State Department is still intent on pursuing the war



militarily, but the forces of opposition are gathering and growing. With the continued escalation of death and the stalemate in Paris, hopes will fade and opposition will reach new heights. Dissent already growing in the GI ranks will grow and become more overt.

In the U.S. and around the world anti-war forces are planning a large international day of protest in late October, before the American presidential elections.

No the war isn't over! Having again learned the reality of the Pentagon's lying foreign policy, people the world over will rise up with increased anger, fed by their disappointed hopes to demand, "Bring the Troops Home Now!"

## NO CANADIAN TROOPS TO VIETNAM

(Continued from Page 1)  
the revolutionaries — played by 43 French-Canadian Vandoos!

Perhaps it sounds a little far fetched? Maybe not. Might not this be the manner in which the United States, already heavily taxed by the Vietnam war, with record military expenditures, a high draft requirement and domestic opposition would have dealt with the Dominican Republic situation if it had occurred today?

Even more evidence has come to light with the announcement that 64 officers and non-commissioned officers wound up jungle training in Australia early in March of this year. Training in some of the worst jungle terrain in the world, the March 9 *Globe and Mail* reported that Canadian troops "are learning the deadly Viet Cong arts which the Australians are teaching their own troops."

Will Canadian troops be used in Vietnam as part of an international police

force? Well we can be sure of one thing. Canadian troops are not receiving all this training just to pass the time.

Following President Johnson's announcement that he would not seek another term in the White House the daily press reported that the Liberal government had "reactivated" surveys on the availability of Canadian troops for use in Vietnam.

The *Newsletter* believes the danger of Canadian military intervention in Vietnam, or in some other Vietnam-type conflict, is quite real. While the anti-war movement can take credit for confining "our" government's complicity to diplomacy and economic assistance we must be aware that the changing war situation could lead to direct military intervention. The *Newsletter* believes it is the task of the movement to warn against such a development, in advance, around the demand "no Canadian boys for foreign wars of intervention."

## CANADA VIETNAM Newsletter

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## ***The Status of Women in Canada***

Brief submitted to the government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women, from the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière – April 1968

As an organization seriously concerned about all problems concerning the people of Canada, the League for Socialist Action / La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière welcomes the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission, in the questionnaires it has circulated, has asked some pertinent questions regarding Canadian women and the law. But while an examination of the law is both revealing and necessary, it is our opinion that the problem of women's status, which is that of an inferior in all respects, lies deeply below the surface of society and involves fundamental aspects of the economic and social structure.

In Canada we have developed our natural resources on such a scale as to clearly demonstrate the real possibility of liberating all sections of the population from social and economic insecurity. But if men are not yet free – woman is less free because she is further enslaved by her sex. We maintain that the attitudes and prejudices both reflected in and sustained in law and custom that tie woman to what has been called a second class citizenship, are embedded in the very foundations of present day society and that a fundamental change in this society will be required to eradicate them.

The situation confronting women in Canada — a developed industrial society — demonstrates all the more clearly the profound character of the problem. The high standard of living, advancing birth control techniques, extensive legal rights, access to all levels of education — all these have contributed towards the emancipation of woman and have helped free her from the hardships that have traditionally burdened her down.

### **Contradictions**

But what is the real situation? — technology has rendered housework almost obsolete. But despite the fact that more and more married women are entering the labor market (1) large numbers continue to function almost entirely outside the social mainstream, tied by a thousand threads to the maintenance of the home — women have the right to vote, to run for public office, to own property. Yet the political and economic life of the country remains dominated by a minority of men – the federal government has recognized the concept of equal pay for equal work. Yet in some provinces the law actually condones wage inequality between men and women. Even where equal pay legislation is on the books, women receive substantially lower wages for doing the same work as men.(2)

While the trade union movement is in the forefront of this struggle, it has not yet won it – it is conceded that women and men have equal mental capacities. Yet early in the school years, women are systematically streamed out of the analytical subjects and channeled into less creative, less prestigious and less rewarding areas. 3) Women have the right to higher education and to work in the professions. Yet the number of women who actually graduate from college is far lower than men, and with the exception of nursing, librarianship and teaching, women compose less than 10 percent (as low as 3 percent in some) of the main professions in Canada.(4) Even in those professions where women are the majority, men hold nearly all the key positions — advancing birth control techniques give women increasing control over their bodies. Yet thousands of unwanted babies continue to be born and many illegal abortions are performed at great risk and loss of life.

### **What Must Be Done?**

These contradictions point to the fact that woman's inferior position in society, is not merely a result of custom or law, but is deeply rooted in the existing social and economic order which they sustain. How are we to solve these problems? The implementation by the government of the following program would constitute the first necessary steps to allow woman to take her place as an equal partner in society.

1 ) Women must be freed from her traditional responsibilities for the child — the child has the right to everything that society can provide, regardless of the resources of the parents. Parents should not be burdened with providing for the child but every facility should be available for the full development of the child. A far teaching system of government-financed facilities including nursery schools and day care centers must be established. In this way those women who prefer employment outside the home would be able to seek it. Those who prefer to be homemakers should receive a wage from the state. The family, through the imposition on its slender resources of the responsibilities of society as a whole, has taken on many of the forms of a prison. With the implementation of these propositions, the family could freely evolve into a harmonious relationship between human beings.

### **Birth Control, Abortion**

2) Woman must have complete control of her body —the government must initiate a widespread educational campaign on birth control and establish community birth control centers for the dissemination and distribution of birth control information and devices. Both of these projects should be financed by the government. Any and all restrictions on the right of women to determine whether or not to bear a child should be removed.

3) Special measures must be taken to ensure that women benefit fully from the educational system – all educational fees must be abolished and an income provided for students adequate to meet their essential needs while attending school – all educational institutions must be co-educational — all classes must be co-educational, with the presently all-female home economics courses dropped and substituted with a general living course which would equip both girls and boys to take care of themselves — women should be given special encouragement in the analytical fields, such as math and sciences, in order to compensate for the social prejudices which now exist and which discourage them from developing their individual abilities in these areas.

### **Write Women Back Into History!**

School text books should be completely rewritten to exclude sex discrimination. Women must be written back into history! Not only are fundamental questions about the changing role of women through the ages still unexplored, but it is only recently that a start has been made in straightening out the slanders against the feminists(5) – it is only lately that we have learned of great and brave women who fought along with men for social progress in the past. How many more valiant women are buried in history? Would not women today be inspired to hear of them! A retelling of history would banish forever the myth of feminine inferiority!

4) All barriers excluding women from equality in the area of work must be removed – the minimum wage must be the same for women and men in all provinces – sex discrimination in job classification must be eliminated – all employers must be required by law to grant generous maternity leave with full pay.

While implementation of these demands would not secure full equality for women, it would pave the way towards this objective.

But why haven't *even* these requirements for woman's emancipation been achieved? And why do women appear not to have taken advantage of the opportunities that presently exist? There are two standard answers that are given. One is that woman's "nature" is such that she is incapable of rising to a state of equality with men. The other (our answer) is that class society has enslaved woman and continues to do so to this day through capitalist society.

## **The Myth of Woman's Inferiority**

It has often been stated that women are predestined by their biological make-up to center their lives around child rearing and the home. Biology equals destiny. This view holds that both woman's intellect and psychology are affected and conditioned *by* her maternal role. "Women are not necessarily inferior to men. They are just different." This view maintains that the beautiful qualities of femininity, "receiving, keeping and nourishing" (6) are contained only in woman and must not be sacrificed by woman taking on other roles. Woman is presented as a unique and mysterious creature. This is a most beguiling presentation of the myth of feminine inferiority, one that at the same time enshrines and debases her. This view argues that woman not be legally discriminated against, only condemned forever to her special role. These concepts are nothing but a rationalization of the situation that now prevails — and there is no truth in them.(7) We reject these pronouncements based on some timeless concept of the essential "nature" of man and woman. It is not woman's "nature" that has placed man at the pivotal position in present day society.

There was an extensive period in human history of far greater duration than what is known as western civilization when society revolved around woman, not man. We are led to accept the idea that woman has always been the "second sex." The role of woman in primitive times has been hidden from us. This is the period in social and productive relations known as the matriarchy. It was woman who invented agriculture, tool-making and architecture, who first domesticated animals, while primitive man, who spent prolonged periods on the hunt, was isolated from the community. This period, which stretched over hundreds of thousands of years, came to an end, not due to any belated resurgence of an essential "nature"(8) of woman but due to the development of class society.

## **What Determines Woman's Status?**

It was only with vast changes in social productive relations that woman's role in society changed. An examination of the varied role woman has played in history shows that it is the social productive relations and her relation to them that determined woman's social rule and position. From the matriarchy — the social relations of primitive communist society — has evolved what we know today as capitalism. Here too the social forces determine woman's role. The main feature of this society is the private ownership of the means of production and their utilization solely for the profit of those owning them. An appreciation of this is vitally important to the understanding of the present situation of woman.

Woman has been relegated to the role of raising and training the next generation of workers, and on occasion, when required, has been thrust directly into the work force herself. Woman has been shunted on and off the labor market to meet the needs of an unplanned and profit motivated economy.

During World War II women's services were required to keep up wartime production. The way was opened for them to enter the work force. Nursery schools and day care centers were built. All the traditional myths and concepts about the duties of woman were shoved aside. The first responsibility of woman was to leave the home, put children aside, and assume the role that heretofore had been declared the domain of man. A new atmosphere was created which showed itself everywhere in popular magazines and advertisements. These featured spirited and independent women with different dress, different hairstyles, and a different psychology. This process came to an abrupt halt with the close of the war when her services were no longer required and an atmosphere was generated to reverse it.

### **Capitalism the Source of Inequality**

This incredible reversal within a decade shows that woman's role in this society — capitalist society — is determined by the needs of this society, i.e., the interests of the dominant class in this society, the capitalists, and not the interests of the great majority, the working class, both male and female.

The implementation of the propositions advanced in the first part of our presentation — complete freedom for a woman to decide whether or not to bear a child — wages for homemakers — community responsibility for children, etc. — these would vastly improve woman's position in present-day Canadian society. But their chief significance lies not in the establishment of this or that individual right. At best they lay the foundations from which the whole struggle to free womankind can move forward.

We have referred to the experience of the World War II and post-World War II years in Canada. The experience of German women — under the post-World War I regime where they made great gains only to have them brutally wiped out overnight under the fascist dictatorship of Hitler with its "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" is also worth noting.

## Full Partnership — Under Socialism

As long as capitalist society prevails whatever gains woman establishes, in material form and in status, are always tentative and in jeopardy. The implementation of these proposals would represent a marked advance towards removing capitalism, the social and productive basis of woman's subjugation; and at the same time take us forward to the establishment of a new society — socialism.

Woman is victimized both on account of her sex and her state as a worker. Hence she is doubly oppressed. Woman must seek a society that knows no inequalities of sex, race, or class. Equality for woman — free partnership with man — cannot be found in an unjust and exploitative society. It can only be found in a society where the great productive forces created by our collective effort are at the full **disposal of** humanity, where the economy is planned to meet human need and where production is geared for human use — in a socialist society.

### Footnotes

1. Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, *Changing Patterns in Women's Employment*. P. 6, table 1 p.7. 2
2. *Chatelaine*, January, 1968. "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women: Will It Do Any Good?"
3. Paul Herst, *A Commentary on the Motivation and Education of College Women*. National Association of Women Deans and Counselors Journal, Jan., 1962, #25, pages 51-59.
4. Department of Labor, *Occupational Trends in Canada 1931-1961*. Report #11; page 57, chart I; page 60, chart 4; page 40, table 4.
5. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. Chapter 4 "The Passionate Journey."
6. Karl Stern. *The Flight From Woman*. Chapters 2 and 3.
7. Eve Merriam, *After Nora Slammed the Door*, Part IV, "Sex and Semantics," pages 216-218.
8. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*.
9. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. "The Happy Housewife Heroine," pages 32-35.

## Some Key Reading on the Situation of Women

by Ruth Blake (*Ruth Tate – Ed.*)

One of the many injustices women share with oppressed minorities is the constant distortion not only of their history, but of their abilities — biological, intellectual and social. Lack of reliable information, as well as the abundance of debasing images and

half-truths will be a problem for women who want to prepare a case for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

No doubt it is in recognition of this that the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has recently published a 42-page bibliography of material relevant to the Royal Commission. This most useful and thorough list can be obtained from the Department of Labor. Meanwhile, here is an outline of a few of the books and articles that have been useful in the preparation of the brief, and which help present a clearer picture of the historical, social and economic roles of woman.

Two fundamental aspects of woman's history are her role in pre-history when she was a paramount social force, and the struggle for legal emancipation. For a Marxist analysis of the matriarchy, the subsequent shift in property relations and to male dominance, the basic work is *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* by Frederick Engels, the close associate of Karl Marx; while *The Mothers* by Robert Briffault gives a vivid and detailed portrait of this period.

As far as women's suffrage is concerned, Catherine Cleverdon's *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* seems to be the only book available to Canadian women on this vital part of their past, and this is unfortunate. While there is no doubt that equal property laws and the vote were attained with relative ease by Canadian women (usually inspired by the dynamism of events in the United States and largely won, with the exception of Quebec, by the early 1900s), the author's coy style, her referrals to "hardships and heartaches" and her many reassurances that Canadians decried the "violence" of the British and American struggles makes uninspired reading. Surely it was not all tea parties and petitions?

## American Suffrage Movement

In contrast to this, in form as well as content, some excellent books have recently appeared on the American suffrage movement. *Woman's Rights* by Eleanor Coolridge is a brief, but very moving picture of the important American feminists, excellent as an introduction; Eleanor Flexer's *Century of Struggle* is far more political and thorough, with emphasis, for the first time, on the part played by labor and black women. Both books make it clear that the battle for woman's rights ebbed and flowed with the tides of other forms of social protest, like the abolition movement, although the two were far from always being in harmony. It is not unusual, then, with the world today in turmoil, that woman should begin, after a long silence, to be concerned about her status. The appearance of these books is an indication of the rising consciousness.

## On Woman's Role

On general questions of woman's "nature" and role, Margaret Mead's famous *Male and Female* is useful. For although the famous anthropologist draws incorrect conclusions, as Betty Friedman points out in *The Feminine Mystique*, the data Mead gives on the multiplicity of roles played by women in the various tribes she studied points in another direction. Concerning maternity, Alice K. Rossi in her article "Equality between the sexes" (*Women in America*, editor Lifton) shows that the American mother's exclusive attention to her children is a historical first. She then powerfully documents the case against full time motherhood.

When the time comes to get down to specific situations, Canadian women can arm themselves well with evidence of their unequal state with statistics, charts and tables provided in concise form by the Canadian Department of Labor. The pamphlets *Women at Work in Canada (1964)* and *Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931-61* can be bought for less than a dollar and graphically demonstrate that Canadian women are consistently paid unequal wages in low paying, low prestige work, and that little to no advance has been made in the professions by women.

With these facts at her disposal, and with the correct analytical tools, woman should be able to swim against the tide of misinformation that seeks to keep her in her place.

\*Woman must have complete control of her body. Birth control devices and information freely available to all. The removal of all restrictions on abortion.

\*Special measures to ensure that women have complete access to education. Abolition of fees and an income provided to students; universal co-education; special encouragement in analytical fields. Write woman back into history.

\*For a family that is a harmonious relationship between human beings. Free educational facilities for children from birth to maturity. This would permit women to seek employment outside the home. A state wage for those who choose to be homemakers.

\*For complete equality of women at work.

*Voici le mémoire à la Commission Royale d'enquête sur le statut de la femme par la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action.*

En tant qu'organisation intéressée à tous les problèmes auxquels doit faire face le peuple canadien, la Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/ League for Socialist Action accueille favorablement l'établissement d'une Commission Royale sur le Statut de la femme. La Commission, dans les questionnaires qu'elle a fait circuler, a posé quelques questions pertinentes concernant les femmes canadiennes et la loi. Mais si l'examen des lois est à la fois révélateur et nécessaire, nous pensons que le problème du statut des femmes — qui est un statut d'infériorité, à tous égards — se situe bien au dessous de la surface de la société et implique des aspects fondamentaux de la structure économique et sociale.

Au Canada, nous avons développé nos ressources naturelles à une niveau suffisant pour prouver clairement la possibilité réelle de libérer toutes les couches de la population de l'insécurité sociale et économique. Mais si les hommes ne sont pas encore libres, la femme est encore moins libre parce qu'elle est encore plus enchaînée par son sexe. Nous affirmons que l'attitude et les préjugés, à la fois reflétés et soutenus par la loi de les coutumes, qui assujettissent la femme à ce qu'on a appelé une citoyenneté de seconde classe, ont leurs racines dans les fondements mêmes de la société d'aujourd'hui et que leur déracinement requiert un changement fondamental de cette société.

La situation à laquelle font face les femmes au Canada — une société industrielle développée — démontre d'autant plus clairement le caractère profond du problème. Le haut niveau de vie, les techniques avancées de contrôle des naissances, des droits légaux étendus, l'accès à tous les niveaux de l'éducation — tout cela a contribué à l'émancipation de la femme et l'a aidée à se libérer du joug qui l'a traditionnellement écrasée.

Mais quelle est la situation réelle?

- la technologie a fait des soins du ménage une occupation presque désuète. Mais en dépit du fait que de plus en plus de femmes mariées entrent sur le marché du travail (1) un grand nombre continue à vivre presque complètement hors du cours principal de la société, attachées par mille liens à l'entretien du foyer.
- les femmes ont le droit de voter, d'entrer en lice pour la fonction publique, de posséder des propriétés. Cependant, la vie politique et économique du pays reste dominée par une minorité d'hommes.
- Le gouvernement fédéral a reconnu le principe du salaire égal pour un travail égal. Pourtant dans certaines provinces la loi ferme les yeux sur l'inégalité des salaires entre hommes et femmes. Même là où la législation du salaire égal est inscrite dans les livres, les femmes reçoivent en substance des salaires plus bas pour le même travail que les hommes.(2) Bien que le mouvement syndicaliste soit au premier plan de cette lutte, il ne l'a pas encore gagnée.
- il est admis que les femmes et les hommes ont des capacités mentales égales. Pourtant dans les premières années scolaires, les femmes sont systématiquement détournées des matières analytiques pour être orientées vers des secteurs moins créateurs, moins prestigieux et moins rémunérateurs (3)
- les femmes ont le droit à l'éducation supérieure et le droit de faire carrières. Cependant, le nombre de femmes qui sont présentement graduées du collège est beaucoup plus bas que le nombre d'hommes, et à l'exception des carrières de bibliothécaires, d'infirmières et de professeurs, les femmes représentent moins de 10% (moins de 3% dans certaines branches) des professionnels dans les carrières principales au Canada.(4)
- les techniques avancées de contrôle des naissances donnent aux femmes un contrôle accru sur leur corps. Cependant des milliers de bébés non désirés continuent à naître et beaucoup d'avortements illégaux sont pratiqués, entraînant de grands risques et des pertes de vie.

**Que faut-il faire?**

Ces contradictions démontrent le fait que la position inférieure de la femme dans la société n'est pas simplement le résultat de l'habitude ou de la loi mais est profondément enraciné dans l'ordre social et économique existant dont elles sont l'armature. Dans quelle position sommes-nous pour résoudre ce

problème? La réalisation par le gouvernement du programme suivant constituerait les premiers pas nécessaires pour permettre à la femme de prendre sa place en tant que partenaire égale dans la société.

1) La femme doit être libérée de ses responsabilités traditionnelles envers l'enfant.

L'enfant a droit à tout ce que la société peut lui procurer sans considération des ressources des parents. Les parents ne doivent pas avoir la charge de subvenir aux besoins de l'enfant, mais toutes les facilités doivent être disponibles pour la plein développement de l'enfant. Un système de grande envergure de facilités financées par le gouvernement comprenant des écoles maternelles et des garderies de jour doit être établi. De cette façon, les femmes qui préfèrent un emploi à l'extérieur seraient en mesure de le chercher. Celles qui préfèrent être ménagères devraient recevoir un salaire de l'État. La famille, parce qu'on impose à ses maigres ressources les responsabilités de la société tout entière a pris en grande partie l'allure d'une prison. Avec la réalisation de ces propositions, la famille pourrait évoluer librement dans un climat harmonieux de relations entre êtres humains.

2) La femme doit avoir la contrôle complète de son corps.

Le gouvernement doit prendre l'initiative d'une large campagne d'éducation sur le contrôle des naissances et établir des centres de contrôle des naissances pour la communauté afin de faire connaître et de distribuer les renseignements sur la contraception et les contraceptifs. Ces deux projets seraient financés par le gouvernement. Cela supprimerait toutes les restrictions sur le droit de la femme à décider si elle veut ou non avoir un enfant.

3) Des mesures spéciales doivent être prises pour que les femmes bénéficient pleinement du système d'éducation.

- tous les frais de scolarité doivent être abolis et un revenu fourni aux étudiants, suffisant pour combler leurs besoins essentiels pendant qu'ils fréquentent l'école.
- toutes les institutions scolaires doivent être mixtes.
- toutes les classes doivent être mixtes avec la suppression des cours d'art ménager exclusivement féminins et leur remplacement par un cours général qui permettrait à la fois aux filles et aux garçons de se débrouiller.
- il faudrait encourager les femmes tout spécialement dans les secteurs des maths et des sciences afin de compenser les préjugés sociaux qui existent actuellement et qui les découragent de développer leurs aptitudes individuelles dans ces domaines.

Il faudrait complètement réécrire les manuels scolaires pour enlever la discrimination due au sexe. Il faut rétablir le rôle des femmes dans l'histoire! Non seulement des questions fondamentales sur le rôle changeant des femmes à travers l'histoire restent encore inexplorés mais ce n'est que récemment qu'on a commencé à se battre contre les calomnies à l'endroit des féministes(5) et tardivement que nous avons entendu parler de grandes et courageuses femmes qui se sont battues aux côtés d'hommes pour le progrès social dans le passé. Combien de femmes vaillantes sont enterrées dans l'histoire? Les femmes ne trouveraient-elles pas aujourd'hui de l'inspiration à entendre parler d'elles? Une nouvelle version de l'histoire bannirait pour toujours le mythe de l'infériorité féminine.

4) Il faut supprimer toutes les barrières excluant les femmes de l'égalité dans le champ du travail.

- le salaire minimum doit être le même pour les femmes et les hommes dans toutes les provinces.
- il faut éliminer la discrimination due au sexe dans la classification des emplois.

\*Il faut légalement obliger tous les employeurs à donner de généreux congés de maternité à plein salaire.

Si la réalisation de ces revendications n'assure pas l'égalité totale pour les femmes, elle paverait cependant le chemin vers ces objectifs.

Mais pourquoi ces exigences pour l'émancipation de la femme n'ont elles même pas été réalisées? Et pourquoi les femmes semblent-elles n'avoir pu profiter des possibilités qui existent actuellement? On

donne deux réponses types. L'une est que la "nature" de la femme est telle qu'elle est incapable de s'élever à un niveau d'égalité avec l'homme. L'autre (la nôtre) est que la société de classes a enchaîné la femme et la fait encore jusqu'à nos jours, à travers la société capitaliste.

## LE MYTHE DE L'INFÉRIORITÉ FÉMININE

On a souvent avancé que la femme est prédestinée par sa constitution biologique à centrer sa vie sur l'éducation des enfants et sur la maison. La biologie égale la destinée. Cette perspective affirme qu'à la fois l'intellect et la psychologie de la femme sont influences et conditionnés par son rôle maternel. "Les femmes ne sont pas nécessairement inférieures aux hommes: elles sont simplement différentes." Cette perspective affirme que les belles qualités de féminité "recevoir, garder et nourrir"(6) n'existent que chez la femme et ne doivent pas être sacrifiées à d'autres rôles qu'assumerait la femme. La femme est présentée comme une créature unique et mystérieuse; c'est une des plus trompeuses présentations du mythe de l'infériorité féminine qui en même temps l'auréole et la dégrade. Cette perspective prétend qua la femme ne doit pas subir de discrimination légale mais est simplement condamnée pour Toujours à son rôle spécial. Ces concepts ne sont rien d'autre que la rationalisation de la situation qui prévaut actuellement, et ils ne contiennent aucune vérité.(7) Nous rejetons ces affirmations basées sur une conception atemporelle de la "nature" essentielle de l'homme et de la femme. Ce n'est pas la "nature" de la femme qui la placé l'homme à une position-pivot dans la société d'aujourd'hui.

Il y a eu une longue période dans l'histoire de l'humanité d'une durée beaucoup plus grande que ce que nous connaissons en tant que civilisation occidentale où la société tournait autour de la femme, non de l'homme. Nous sommes portés à accepter l'idée que la femme a toujours représenté "le deuxième sexe." On nous a caché le rôle de la femme dans les époques primitives; c'est la période dans les relations sociales et les relations de production, connue sous le nom de "matriarcat." C'est la femme qui a inventé l'agriculture, la fabrication des outils et l'architecture, qui a la première domestiqué les animaux, tandis que l'homme primitif, qui passait de longues périodes à la chasse, était isolé de la communauté. Cette période qui s'est étendue sur des centaines de milliers d'années, s'est terminée non pas à cause de quelque tardive résurgence de la "nature"(8) essentielle de la femme mais à cause du développement de la société de classes.

C'est seulement avec de larges changements dans les relations sociales de production que le rôle de la femme a changé. Un examen du rôle varié que la femme a joué dans l'histoire montre que ce sont les rapports de production sociale et ses relations avec eux qui ont déterminé le rôle social de la femme et sa situation. Du matriarcat — système de rapport sociaux de la société communiste primitive — est issu ce que nous connaissons aujourd'hui comme le capitalisme. Là aussi, les forces sociales déterminent le rôle de la femme. Le trait principal de cette société est la propriété privée des moyens de production et leur utilisation exclusive pour le profit de ceux qui les possèdent. Il est vital d'apprécier ce fait pour comprendre la situation actuelle de la femme.

La femme s'est vue reléguer le rôle d'élever et d'éduquer la prochaine génération de travailleurs et à l'occasion, quand c'était nécessaire, a été jetée directement dans la force de travail elle-même. La femme a été ballottée sur et hors du marché du travail pour combler les besoins d'une économie non planifiée motivée par le profit.

Durant la deuxième guerre mondiale, on a recouru aux services des femmes pour maintenir la production du temps de guerre. On leur a ouvert la voie pour entrer dans la main-d'œuvre. On a construit des écoles maternelles et des garderies de jour; on a balayé tous les mythes et concepts traditionnels sur les devoirs de la femme. La première responsabilité de la femme était de quitter la maison, mettre les enfants de côté et assumer le rôle qui jusqu'alors avait été déclaré domaine de l'homme. Une nouvelle atmosphère fut créée qui se traduisait partout dans les revues populaires et dans la publicité. Elles préparaient des femmes d'esprit, indépendantes, habillés différemment, avec un nouveau style de coiffure et une psychologie différente. Ce processus s'arrêta brusquement avec la fin de la guerre quand on n'avait plus besoin de leurs services et on créa l'atmosphère pour le renverser.(9)

## LE CAPITALISME, SOURCE DE L'INÉGALITÉ

Cet incroyable renversement de situation en une décade montre que le rôle de la femme dans cette société — société capitaliste — est déterminé par les besoins de cette société, i.e., les intérêts de la

classe dominante dans cette société et non pas les intérêts de la grande majorité, la classe ouvrière, à la fois masculine et féminine.

La réalisation des propositions avancées dans la première partie de notre présentation

- liberté complète pour la femme de décider si elle veut ou non avoir un enfant
- salaire pour les ménagères
- responsabilité de la communauté pour les enfants, etc. ...

• amènerait largement la promotion de la femme dans la société canadien d'aujourd'hui. Mais leur signification essentielle ne réside pas dans tel ou tel droit individuel. Au mieux, elles posent les bases d'où peut partir la lutte tout entière pour la libération de la femme. Nous nous sommes référés à l'expérience de deuxième guerre mondiale et des années d'après-guerre au Canada. L'expérience des femmes allemandes qui après la première guerre mondiale avaient obtenu des gains considérables pour se voir les balayés le lendemain, sous la dictature fasciste d'Hitler, avec ses "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche" — mérite aussi d'être notée.

Aussi longtemps que la société capitaliste régnera, quels que soient les gains que la femme obtienne, sous forme matérielle et sous forme de statut, ceux-ci seront toujours provisoires et en danger. La réalisation de ces propositions représenterait une avance notable contre le maintien du capitalisme — base social et productive de l'asservissement de la femme: et en même temps nous ferait progresser vers l'établissement d'une nouvelle société — le socialisme.

La femme est opprimée à la fois à cause de son sexe et de sa condition d'ouvrière. Elle est ainsi doublement opprimée. La femme doit lutter pour une société qui ne connaît pas d'inégalité de sexe, race ou classe. L'égalité pour la femme — libre partenaire de l'homme — ne peut se trouver dans une société injuste et exploiteuse. Elle ne peut exister que dans une société où les grands moyens de production créés par notre effort collectif, sont à la pleine disposition de l'humanité, où l'économie est planifiée pour satisfaire les besoins humains, et où la production se développe pour son utilisation humaine — dans une société socialiste.

#### **Appels de note:**

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2. *Chatelaine*, January, 1968. "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women: Will It Do Any Good?"
3. Paul Herst, *A Commentary on the Motivation and Education of College Women*. National Association of Women Deans and Counselors Journal, Jan., 1962, #25. Pages 51-59.
4. Department of Labor, *Occupational Trends in Canada 1931-1961*. Report #11; page 57, chart I; page 60, chart 4; page 40, table 4.
5. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. Chapter 4 "The Passionate Journey."
6. Karl Stern. *The Flight From Woman*. Chapters 2 and 3.
7. Eve Merriam, *After Nora Slammed the Door*. Part IV, "Sex and Semantics," pages 216-218.
8. Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*.
9. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. "The Happy Housewife Heroine," pages 32-35.

# Protest, Rally Against Criminal Vietnam War Easter Sunday April 6

The official call of the Toronto  
Vietnam Mobilization Committee.

The Student Mobilization Committee in the United States has called for International Demonstrations for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam on Easter Sunday April 6. The Vietnam Mobilization Committee appeals to all anti-war committees across Canada to join in this International Protest in solidarity with the Vietnamese people and to demonstrate on April 6.

The last year has seen great victories for anti-war forces around the world. 1968 was the year of the Tet offensive, the forced resignation of Johnson, the beginning of the Paris talks, the cessation of the bombing of north Vietnam and the entry of the National Liberation Front into the Paris talks.

But our work is not yet done. The American government refuses to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. The present bombing over Laos is now at three times the level it was over north Vietnam. Eight thousand Americans and thousands of Vietnamese have died since the talks began in April. With successes achieved, we must now move ahead for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

On Easter Sunday we will be joined by many hundreds of G.I.'s demonstrating against the war in which many of them may have to die. The G.I.-civilian anti-war action conference held in Chicago Dec. 28 has called for mobilizations in 7 major U.S. centers where

military bases are concentrated. With growing numbers of G.I.'s marching with us we can have increased confidence that the days of this war are numbered. One of our major themes will be "Solidarity with the G.I.'s, bring them home now!"

Claire Culhane, a former Canadian hospital administrator in Vietnam, has revealed shocking new evidence of the Trudeau government's complicity in Vietnam. The probable continuation of Canada in NATO, will continue to free U.S. troops to fight in Vietnam. Most recently in Chilliwack, B.C., Canadian troops were trained in counter-guerrilla warfare. There is a standing offer by Trudeau and Sharp to send forces to south Vietnam. The sending of Canadian troops to Vietnam, even under the guise of "peace-keeping", would only be a new means of preventing the Vietnamese from determining their own future. How can a government which clearly supports the criminal U.S. position in Vietnam, politically and materially, help "peace-keep" in Vietnam? No Canadian troops to Vietnam no matter what the uniform! End Canada's Complicity in Vietnam.

We call on anti-war groups across Canada to organize mass demonstrations in all centers. Let's make our marches an important component of the International Protest which is so vital if the American boys are to be brought home and the Vietnamese are to be left to determine their own future.



canada  
vietnam  
**NEWS  
LETTER**

**The Voice of the  
Anti-Vietnam-War  
Movement**

MARCH 1969

10¢

October 26 in Toronto

# Quebec - In Defence of unilingualism

## *Rightists lead foes of LIS*

by Richard Dumont

(from *Workers' Vanguard*, Toronto – October 1969 English-language journal of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue socialist ouvrière, Montréal)

**In bringing charges of sedition against the leaders of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire (LIS), the movement for an all-French school system in Quebec, the Union Nationale government broadcast its determination to smash the French unilingualist movement.**

It has the full support of the other major capitalist party. Liberal MLA Emilien Lafrance, a former minister in the Lesage government, expressed the sentiments of all the capitalist politicians as he donated \$25 to a fund seeking support for English schools. Lafrance dissociated himself "from the idiotic and fanatical action of this little clique of racists and anarchists, the Lemieux, Chartrands, and their allies" who are "transforming our little Quebec oasis into a second Cuba . . ."

The establishment's attack has found a curious echo in the Communist Party. In vicious articles which turn the facts upside down and stand reason on its head, the CP papers *Canadian Tribune* (Toronto) and *Combat* (Montreal) condemn the St-Léonard demonstration as "chauvinist," "ultra-nationalist," a "betrayal of Quebec's people," and accuse Raymond Lemieux and the LIS of "serving only the cause of reaction." *Combat*'s account, which never gets beyond the level of simple stupidity, describes the supporters of a French school system as "hoodlums and vandals."

Neither paper mentions anywhere the serious criminal charges against the LIS leaders, nor the role of the cops in breaking up the demonstration. Instead, *Combat* has the police actually **aiding** the demonstrators, while the *Tribune* whitewashes the authorities with the scandalous claim that Lemieux provoked the cop attack, and the suggestion that the partisans of unilingualism are somehow "allies" of the government in its spreading campaign of attacks on the trade unions and democratic rights.

The CP journals completely distort the Quebec government's position on unilingualism. **The Tribune article notes that the minister of education "has endorsed the decision of the (LIS-dominated) St. Leonard school board" making French the language of instruction — but neglects to add that the government was forced to do so only after its repeated attempts to overthrow the decision had failed in the face of mass demonstrations of public opinion favoring unilingualism.** The Quebec government, like the Communist party, is an inveterate opponent of a French-only school system throughout Quebec.

*Combat* virtually pretends that the language crisis doesn't exist except as a creation of the government, while the *Tribune* acknowledges its existence — only to dismiss the problem with the suggestion that the Québécois demand that French be made the operational language in Quebec is the same "kind of deception" as the federal government's token recognition of French in English-speaking areas!

(...)

Since the CP presumes to speak in the name of Marxism, the theory-of scientific socialism, it is worth examining what is wrong with this "democratic" position.

In the first place, it ignores the existing relationship of forces between the French and English languages in Quebec. The French are a majority in Quebec, but a minority in Canada as a whole, and a tiny minority in North America. They are an oppressed minority, with little political power and virtually no economic power, since most industry in Quebec is owned by American and Anglo-Canadian English-speaking capital.

(...)

This fact, together with postwar developments such as a surge of industrialization and urbanization, the fall in the birth rate and a dramatic rise in immigration from non-French speaking countries, has meant a steady alarming decline in the status of the French language and culture.

By legalizing the use of the English language in Quebec, official bilingualism has absolved business from learning or using French — with the result that knowledge of a foreign language, English, has more and more for French Canadians become a necessary condition of employment.

Clearly, if ownership of the industries and resources of Quebec were to be vested in the hands of the vast majority, the French Canadians, through nationalization under a workers government, the threat to the French language and culture would cease to exist. But it is no less true that the vast majority of the Québécois do not at present understand the necessity for such a transformation in class relations. Quebec does not even have a labor party.

The Québécois do, however, understand very well the dangers threatening the continued existence of the French language — the basis of their national identity and consciousness—and they are prepared to do whatever is necessary to protect it. Some have met the problem by moving against the system at a vulnerable spot, in entering elections for the local school boards, which still have the power to determine the language of instruction. This happened first in St-Léonard, *a Montreal suburb —Ed.*) where the problem was sharply posed by a tremendous influx of immigrants demanding, and getting, English schools.

To oppose the St-Léonard action on the grounds that innocent victims, the immigrants, were thereby deprived of their acquired rights, is to place responsibility for the situation on those who have finally moved to defend their majority rights, rather than the real culprit — the Quebec government, which has failed even to legislate the most minimal protection of the French language.

Moreover, to get hung up on arguments about "minority" rights is to ignore the real relationship of forces in Quebec — the powerful domination of English capital, and the accompanying anglicization.

Because the struggle for a French Quebec is a struggle for the very survival of the French Canadian nation, it deserves the fullest support of every partisan of national self-determination. But the struggle for an all-French school system has proved to have further significance in its capacity to bring the Québécois to an understanding of the role of the French Canadian bourgeoisie and its government in Quebec as a tool of Canadian and U.S. monopoly capital.

To understand that role is to understand the necessity to change the system, to wrest control of the economy from the monopolies that alone benefit from the humiliation and subordination of the French language and nation in Quebec, the national homeland.

That is why the capitalists oppose the unilingualists' demands.

The issue of a unilingual school system has proved also to be a major point of division between the left and right wings of the nationalist movement. The moderate petty-bourgeois forces around René Lévesque oppose unilingualism and fear its explosive implications.

The fight for French schools has taken Quebec's national struggle to a new plane.  
(...)

# The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

(By Ross Dowson – 1970 – EXCERPTS)

## INDEX

- 1 - The NDP is a reformist party
- 2 - The touchstone of class politics
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(...) Ever since the end of World War II the most wide-spread and profound political experience of the class has been the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and its continuator, the New Democratic Party.

For some years now the Canadian workers have been organized as a class in trade unions. The war years saw the workers in basic industry unionized and today the ranks of organized labor stand over 2 million strong.

From combating individual capitalists or alliances of capitalists over immediate economic issues such as hours, wages, and conditions, the workers have been compelled to move out onto the political arena as an independent class force against the capitalists organized as a class and through their political parties in control of the state apparatus.

The CCF, from the period 1943-48 on and now the NDP from the day of its founding in 1961, is the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It is the form that the labor party has taken in English-speaking Canada.

In Quebec, the CCF-NDP has not developed strong organic links with the trade union movement or gained a mass base among working class militants. It would appear for the whole next period at least that the nationalist upsurge has passed it by.

However, even here, to this day, the CCF-NDP has been the only political structure to pose across Quebec, however embryonically, the question of independent working class political action.

## The NDP is a reformist party

The NDP is a reformist party — not a (*socialist*) party. While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose. It is encrusted with a leadership and a program permeated with the concepts of class peace and class collaboration (...)

This party has been characterized at various times as the primary expression of the politics of the working class, as expressing the present level of consciousness of the workers, or as being in advance of the level of consciousness of the working class as a whole.

In this period of extreme national and international crises, when class antagonisms recurrently take on the most explosive character — how can one estimate with any degree of accuracy, even over a very limited period of time, where the working class is at, at what stage is its consciousness, and how firm is its adherence to various structures and to various forms of struggle.

To be sure, there are hundreds of thousands of working class men and women who do not think in terms of politics at all or continue to support one or another party of the capitalist class. They have yet to take the simplest act of a working class political character by voting NDP. There are tens of thousands of workers who have over the past years formed a firm commitment to the NDP and its leadership and will not be easily shaken from it, and to be sure there are many workers both inside and outside of the NDP who are to the left of it, who have already some understanding of the inadequacy of its program and an even clearer idea of the opportunist and class collaborationist character of its leadership. But insofar as the revolutionary socialists have been able to confront them, there are few in number who are yet prepared to move out and beyond the NDP.

Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against; stands both on the way and athwart the way to the building of the revolutionary vanguard. For the class as a whole over the entire past period it represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period.

### **Touchstone of class politics**

The NDP cannot be ignored and it cannot be bypassed. It is the touchstone of class politics. All working class politics revolve around it and an incorrect position on it is fatal. (...)

The orientation to the CCF-NDP has been (our) fundamental orientation (...) since World War II. In general our position in relation to the CCF-NDP labor party formation has been one of unconditional support and (...) intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective (...) But suppose the NDP violates some of the most basic interests of the working class. The Labour Party of Great Britain through Wilson completely underwrote the U.S. genocidal war against the people of Vietnam and imposed a wage freeze on the British unions. This caused some to reject electoral support of the Labour Party and even to cease to characterize it as the labor Party — the mass political expression of the British working Class — but to define it as a bourgeois party (...) On another occasion we commented this way: the NDP not only betrays the basic principles of socialism, which it does not even claim to ascribe to, but even from time to time the most elementary interests of the workers. But it has not betrayed the level of (*class –ed.*) consciousness of any substantial and viable layer of the working class.

(...)

### **Opposition to orientation**

(...) Needless to say the new radicalization has by no means bypassed the NDP but has been reflected within it, not only in constituency organizations and union locals but In the federal convention and even the parliamentary caucus.

While the NDP leadership has taken no real initiatives to involve the party in the anti-Vietnam war movement and for a whole period savagely attacked those who did, its top leaders now grace the platforms of the mass rallies, head the demonstrations, and through their actions identify the NDP with them, and carry the NDP into the antiwar movement. While the Canadian Party of Labor (Maoists) came to the VMC\*-sponsored march on Ottawa this spring all geared to boo and heckle the major speaker, the notorious right-wing NDP leader David Lewis — they had to keep their silence. Lewis forthrightly attacked U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution as imperialist, condemned the

Canadian government for its abject material and political complicity and demanded the cessation of arms sales and the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam now.

(\*VMC - Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the anti-war united front in which the LSA played a leading role in the 1960s)

What about women's liberation—the most ongoing struggle involving new layers of radicals with the most explosive potential? When the abortion caravan hit Ottawa it found immediate support from the NDP parliamentary caucus. MP Grace McInnis firmly identified the NDP with the caravan by addressing the rally that welcomed its arrival. Liberationists chained themselves to the parliamentary gallery and so interrupted the session with their demands for immediate action that the government was forced to adjourn this sacred institution of bourgeois democracy. Some of the party leaders dissociated themselves from this action but others appeared amongst the Liberationists in a gesture of support. The (*Dr. Henry*) Morgentaler case around which the fight for "Free Abortions Now" is developing has firm support from the NDP.

The NDP leadership have proven sufficiently flexible in meeting the challenge of the new wave of radicalization to preserve the image of the party as a party of the left.

It is difficult to prove the effect of much of our work at any given moment and sometimes for a whole period on the course of events. Often, when it would seem that it had little or none whatsoever, later developments prove quite the opposite. For an extended period, we concentrated considerable effort in the NDP across Canada, in B.C., Alberta, Ontario, etc., to build socialist caucuses. (*Comrade*) Slocock characterized them as being "artificially erected" and "of little political value." But scarcely were the words written than there appeared in the NDP right across the country the so-called Waffle — a broad left-wing formation composed largely of radical anti-imperialist youth with 1/3 of the votes at last year's federal convention and which has since become a stable left-wing force across the country.

## **Revolution by the class**

Spontaneists and confrontationists see the NDP as taking steam out of and tending to divert the militancy of the struggle into parliamentary and reformist channels. But isn't this really just another expression of their lack of understanding of or unwillingness to face up to the fundamental problems of making the revolution? The revolution cannot come out of the confrontation-escalation politics of the spontaneists no matter how dramatically or how brilliantly their actions are planned. The youth radicalism has to link up with the working class with their vast numbers strategically enmeshed in the working gears of society. In the United States it is difficult for student radicals to see the working class as a class, let alone as a potentially radical force — hence there has been considerable dissipation of their forces in ultra-leftist adventurism.

In the United States where there is no labor party this by no means indicates a lack of reformist illusions — quite the contrary. They are not on the plane of whether socialism can be won by parliamentary means, but on a much lower plane — whether one or another capitalist party can be an instrument for social change. By that token alone, they tend to be parliamentarist. Whereas the NDP is a minority, often hamstrung by electoral trickery and parliamentary procedures, actions identifying with it often take on an anti-parliamentary character and pose revolutionary challenges.

In Canada the revolutionary potential of the working class is much easier to grasp. Not only are the workers organized in unions but their unions are much more socially oriented; they are heavily involved in the NDP with its broad social outlook. In fact, the unions are the dominant force in the NDP. The NDP constantly poses the need for working class power. Since it is a minority party and must continually seek to widen its support, it is necessary for it to move out in protest demonstrations and rallies to continually sharpen the discontent of the workers and organize them along political, even if reformist, lines.

And history records more than one occasion when the struggle has transcended from one for reforms to revolution.

(...)

In 1955 with the merger of the Trades and Labor Congress – American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Congress of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations which had endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm since 1943, new opportunities opened up to widen the bases of support for independent labor political action. The CCF brass (*leadership clique –ed.*) saw it as a chance to broaden their apparatus and to rid themselves of a broad left wing concentrated largely in the Prairie provinces and B.C. This left-reformist to centrist wing had crystallized in opposition to the rightward course of the CCF top brass largely around the party's founding programmatic statement known as the "Regina Manifesto." This statement, essentially Christian pacifist, nonetheless committed the movement to public ownership of the basic means of production and to irreconcilable opposition against "Wars designed to make the world safe for capitalism."

While the "Manifesto" had long ceased to have any relationship at all to the completely opportunist positions to which the parliamentary caucus consistently committed the party, the CCF leadership formally decided to get rid of it. As the Ontario leadership expressed it in their provincial council minutes "the CCF should endeavor to make its appeal more pragmatic, more empirical," and should publish some new basic literature "which would restate the application of democratic socialism in today's world and in today's terms." That turned out to be the "Winnipeg Declaration of Principles" which dumped public ownership for public control, and replaced abolition of private profit and corporate power with the concept of social planning. This statement was jammed through the 1956 CCF Convention in Winnipeg.

The dumping of the "Regina Manifesto" was of course also highly agreeable to the trade union brass. The *United Autoworker* applauded the new look: "Many in organized labor will welcome the 'Winnipeg Declaration' . . . with the tag 'Socialism-Will-Cure-Everything' off its back the CCF should be ... much more acceptable to union voters."

Early in 1957 the CCF leadership, through a series of formal and informal secret discussions with the CLC brass, laid the basis for a Joint Political Action Committee, subsequently set up by the CLC 1958 convention and renamed the National Committee for the New Party. It projected a series of seminars, conferences and forums throughout the country at which CCF'ers, unionists, farmers' organizations, "professional people and other liberally minded persons" could prepare for the launching of a new party to be founded in July-August 1961.

(...)

## Formation of the NDP

We threw the pages of our press, the *Workers' Vanguard*, wide open to discussion on all the issues. We explained the need for the new party to commit itself to public ownership, why it must take a clear and unequivocal stand against the war drive. We took on every opposition, from the Stalinists who tried to scuttle its development as a class party by advocating a "democratic national coalition of patriotic forces for peace," to the sectarian critics on the sidelines who were unable to distinguish the unions from the bureaucrats, to the Galbraithians, to the would-be liquidators into the bourgeois Liberal Party. We urged all socialists, no matter their tendency, to come in and fight for a class struggle policy and a militant leadership.

(...)

The New Democratic Party was launched as a labor party by some 1800 voting delegates who made it the most representative working class assembly that has yet taken place in this country. The tumultuous policy debates showed the radical potential of the Canadian working class.

Our understanding of the processes at work, the implementation of our orientation, was overwhelmingly vindicated by this founding convention. The old leadership of the CCF, allied with the trade-union bureaucracy, prevailed but not without a head-on collision with a core of delegates who won such widespread support that it could only be defeated by the just elected national leader T.C. Douglas, blackmailing the delegates into submission by announcing his resignation should they adopt an anti-NATO-NORAD resolution.

## The youth radicalization (*of the 1960s –ed.*)

For the next two or three years the tempo of NDP development continued forward at a high pitch. In Quebec in the 1965 federal elections, with practically no provincial organization and heavily marked as an English and federalist party, its vote shot up 60% to 18% in Montreal and 12% of the total vote. But increasingly it tended to move to the right, to become more structured, more bureaucratized. In 1963, a large proportion of comrades who were our most important connection with the NDP through its youth movement, were expelled.

Without doubt our greatest successes in the earlier, formative years of the NDP were in the youth arena. In 1961 while the League firmed up as an open and pan-Canadian movement, the Young Socialists dissolved their public face and entered the NDY in order to integrate their forces fully in the building of the NDP's youth movement, the New Democratic Youth, to build its left wing and to consolidate out of it a revolutionary youth cadre. In key areas of the country — Ontario and British Columbia — they provided some of the main leadership force in the NDY.

The Young Socialists recruited their first substantial forces out of the NDY and trained them in the fires of its internal struggles. Our forces faced repeated and sweeping expulsions, which we met with vigorous public defense campaigns through which we were able each time to reconstitute our fraction — with an increased number of new recruits who, if less experienced, were nonetheless completely immersed in the process of gaining invaluable experiences.

During this process the YS launched a Trotskyist youth newspaper, and through it expanded its open activities. In 1966-67, as the ascending youth radicalization began to move past an NDY paralyzed by its right-wing leadership we withdrew from it and launched an independent Trotskyist

youth organization which, from an effective point of view of intervening in the struggle, can be said to have replaced the NDY in the youth arena. At the same time as the YS carries our orientation to support the NDP propagandistically, without doing fraction in the NDP, it is able to operate in many ways as the pro-NDP student organization.

At our 1963 convention we concluded that the formative period of the party was then ending and at the same time new opportunities to widen the base of our league not finding reflection in the NDP were opening up. We therefore decided to pay more attention to our NDP work in the trade unions and to direct more time and energy to our independent work, to build the antiwar movement, to increase the circulation of our literature, to develop our forums. One of the most significant decisions of this new stage was to step up our commitment to participation in the developing struggles in Quebec.

We began to develop the increasingly apparent possibilities for coalescing widely diverse forces behind an anti-Vietnam war movement in 1965. The work of our US co-thinkers was of tremendous value for its scope, for the movement was more limited here, its course of development in many ways has paralleled that of the US. Our "single issue" "End Canadian Complicity" strategy, fought out with all currents and tendencies in conferences across the country, has firmly established a movement that has been capable of a whole series of actions, ever renewing itself as new waves of youth enter into the struggle. While our opponents have labeled the anti-Vietnam war movement "Trotskyist," the imperialist aggression in Vietnam has evoked such response, has proven to be such a key factor in the radicalization process, that all forces, like it or not, have had to participate in its mass actions.

The anti-Vietnam war movement has been the broadest ongoing movement in decades. Only the rising women's liberation movement, with which there is an inevitable interaction, would appear to be approaching it.

Whereas the NDP and trade-Union brass first repulsed all approaches of the antiwar movement, then took a cautious, passive attitude, they have been compelled to make identity with it. We gave them no peace. We buffeted them from both inside and outside and thus have helped to raise the level of an entire mass in key sectors of the Canadian working class. In the process of this ongoing and vital activity which we have carried, we have established right across the country a whole layer of comrades who are widely respected as leaders in their communities and whom the NDP and trade-union leadership have had to recognize.

At the same time as we moved out freely and independently of the NDP milieu, in keeping with the dynamic concept of our NDP orientation, our fraction reached out of its localized, contracting work areas to play a key role in the formation of province-wide socialist caucuses in the Ontario, Alberta and BC sections.

These caucuses, well under way by 1966, continued to expand on a modest basis for a couple of years until the rise of Waffle for which they prepared valuable ground-work. They played a pioneer role through their struggle against the reformist leadership in legitimatizing caucus formations in the NDP. Through their projection of a rounded alternative socialist program and in the struggle to promote it, they trained cadre and established leading figures on the left.

Our last convention prepared our movement to meet developing Canadian national sentiments which we interpreted as anti-US imperialist, leading to anti-Canadian capitalist and to class consciousness. When this burst into the NDP with the formation of Waffle we were ready to integrate ourselves into it. With the rise and firming up of Waffle as an English-Canadian-wide force, the area of revolutionary propaganda in the NDP has been widened and the NDP has become more attractive to radicalizing youth. But Waffle is as yet to some considerable degree still outside the movement. It has not yet directed itself into the constituency organizations or towards the established union movement and so does not cause us, at this time at any rate, to make any substantial tactical adjustments in our orientation.

### **With the class**

Our orientation to the NDP, to the labor party, is an orientation to the working class in its process of developing political consciousness. We have been firm and consistent in maintaining this orientation because we have no intention of being cut off or cutting ourselves off from the force that is destined to settle accounts with capitalist rule and establish workers power. For the period that is foreseeable ahead the working class is going to go through that experience. We intend to participate in that experience — fully. No one, nothing is going to stop us. Neither sectarians, nor opportunists—nor the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class nor their direct agents. We intend to be right in there — to expedite that experience and to assure that it moves forward to the forging of the type of instrument necessary to realize the Canadian revolution.

We are flexible in its application because the tempo of the class struggle and the maturing of the workers is vastly uneven; and it is possible — even necessary to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself right now — to turn the relationship of forces between ourselves and the reformist leadership of the NDP to our advantage. It is necessary to build the cadre now.

*(end of excerpts )*

for an  
Independent  
and  
Socialist  
QUEBEC

# For an Independent Socialist Quebec

## Foreword

“For an Independent Socialist Quebec” is the text of a resolution adopted by the convention of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, which met in Toronto, September 1970.

The LSA-LSO is a pan-Canadian organization uniting revolutionary socialists in Quebec and English Canada.

Close to 250 delegates and observers attended the 1970 convention of the LSA/ LSO.

Barely one month after the convention ended, the federal Liberal government headed by Pierre Elliot Trudeau, taking advantage of the confusion and disarray in the left provoked by the terrorist kidnapping of a British diplomat and the Quebec labor minister, sent 10,000 federal troops into Quebec and invoked the War Measures Act, jailing 450 leading militants of the left and nationalist movements. About one-tenth of these were subsequently brought to trial on trumped-up charges of seditious conspiracy and membership in, or aid of, the now-outlawed Front de Libération du Québec.

The War Measures crisis and subsequent developments are confirming in striking fashion the validity and relevance of the analysis developed in the following document on the national liberation struggle in Quebec.

## The developing struggle for *un Québec français*

Since the 1968 convention of the revolutionary socialists in Canada — the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/ League for Socialist Action — the developing liberation movement in Quebec has continued to deepen and broaden. The profoundly revolutionary character of Québécois nationalism that we analyzed in the 1968 document, *Vive le Québec Libre/Vers La Libération du Québec*, has been confirmed again and again.

A powerful nationalist upsurge has extended deep into the ranks of the urban working class, the vast majority of the Québécois population, taking form notably around the massive mobilizations in defense of the French language and the development of mass sentiment for an independent Quebec.

In 1968 we noted that "national consciousness has given new dimensions to the class struggle." The distinct tempo of the Quebec struggle is revealed in militant labor conflicts marked by the most radical forms of action, including sit-ins and even armed workers defense guards.

The powerful student movement has repeatedly mobilized, descending *en masse* into the streets and taking over the schools, advancing demands based on the revolutionary concept that educational institutions should serve not the capitalist ruling class but the national liberation struggle of the oppressed workers and farmers of Quebec.

Less than two months after the 1968 convention pledged our full support to the movement to make French the "sole official language," the occupation of Aimé Renaud school in St-Léonard brought the struggle for unilingualism to a head. The election there of a pro-unilingual school board headed by members of the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire (MIS—Movement for School Integration) followed by the rapid formation of MIS sections throughout Montreal island and in other areas of the nation, raised the language question — the clearest manifestation of Quebec's domination by foreign capital — to the level of a direct political confrontation with the bourgeois parties in the National Assembly. The revolutionary, anticapitalist dynamic of the demand for a "Québec français" has exposed the total unwillingness of both the old and the newer bourgeois nationalist parties to meet the program of this mass movement: the Union Nationale government charged MIS leader Raymond Lemieux with "sedition," while Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque has several times felt obliged to denounce the movement, to the dismay of many of his supporters.

The language question has become a powerful issue in the trade unions, which for several years have campaigned to make French the language of work. The Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) officially supports unilingualism, as does the 60,000-member teachers union in principle; the demand for a French-only Quebec provoked the biggest debate at the most recent convention of the Quebec Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO-CLC [Canadian Labor Congress]), and won support of nearly half the delegates.

The struggle for unilingualism has introduced and popularized other key aspects of the revolutionary socialist program. When the massive demonstrations against Bill 63 (a government motion to legitimize English school privileges) culminated in a massive protest march of over 40,000 on Quebec last autumn, the contrast between the popular mood reflected by the crowd outside and the treasonous actions of the hundred or so deputies inside the chamber prompted some leaders of the movement to speak of the crowd as "another parliament" that alone truly represented the Québécois.

The LSO (Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière) intervened actively in the struggle and correctly attempted to give content to this dual power concept by posing the idea of a general strike.

The mass march for a "McGill Français" in March 1969, when federal troops were prepared for action for the first time in recent years (they were used directly in last fall's

Montreal police strike), centered around the demand that this bastion of English privilege and reaction be transformed into a French university which would put all its immense resources and research facilities to the service of the Québécois, rather than the giant imperialist corporations which now rape the resources of the nation.

This concept of an educational system which serves the revolution — often termed the "red university" — was actually implemented in the boldest fashion during the massive upsurge of fall 1968 when over 50,000 students, the bulk of Quebec's junior college enrollment, occupied their CEGEPs (Collèges d'Enseignement Générale et Professionnelle — junior colleges) — an upsurge that in North America is equaled in scope only by the U.S. antiwar upsurge on the campuses this last spring.

Creating action committees on the model of the French May-June events, the students operated the colleges and schools for three weeks, utilizing their facilities to produce newspapers, posters, leaflets and to conduct courses on revolutionary thought. The CEGEP occupiers' slogan of "worker-student solidarity" (also adopted from France) was given content by the remarkable sympathy manifested by non-student forces, in the first place the trade unions, behind their bold actions. A forceful intervention in this movement by the modest forces of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes and the LSO won some of the best activists in the upsurge to our movement and to the ideas of revolutionary socialism. These forces were in turn doubled during the successful intervention of the LSO and LJS in the Bagot by-election campaign, when we ran a candidate against the Quebec minister of education.

The wave of repression unleashed by the authorities against the student movement following the decline of the occupations revealed their awareness of the revolutionary response the students' action threatened to provoke in other layers of Quebec's unstable society. This society badly lacks the job outlets and opportunities required to absorb the skills and aptitudes of the graduates pouring from the vastly expanded educational structures of recent years.

Although the revolt has erupted first at this, the most vulnerable point, other struggles indicate the possibilities for revolutionary combat which already exist in the Quebec working class. The militancy of Quebec labor struggles has been shown many times over — the protests against the Murray Hill limousine monopoly, the Lapalme Transport workers fight for their jobs, the militant teachers struggles, including the demonstration of 20,000 teachers at Quebec City last year, etc.

In several instances, workers have protested industrial closures or threats of closure by occupying their plants (Davies Shipbuilding, Vickers, Domtar). During a strike at the company towns of East Angus and Windsor, paper mill workers occupied a plant and armed themselves against vigilante attacks by company-hired guards. The Montreal police strike last October 7, 1969, revealed how the explosive contradictions of Quebec society have even put a question mark over the reliability for the bourgeoisie of their trained agents of repression. The largely spontaneous outpourings of nationalist revolt in

the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day demonstrations of recent years are another indication of the explosive potential of the developing national consciousness, particularly among the youth.

### ***L'indépendantisme* becomes a mass phenomenon**

The growing social ferment in Quebec society, itself a product of the national oppression of the Québécois, has found its natural expression in a progressively deepening disillusionment with the constitutional status quo among all sectors of opinion. Today, after many years of endless federal-provincial conferences, ultimatums and royal commissions, there is less talk of constitutional "reform," much more talk of separation and the need for an independent state of Quebec which can plan the economy in the interests of the Québécois.

Independentist feeling is spurred by a worsening economic conjuncture which has underlined Quebec's vulnerable position in the Canadian and North American capitalist economy. In periods of relative prosperity, unemployment is higher and wages lower in Quebec than elsewhere; and economic downturns increase the social inequality of the Québécois many times over.

The struggle to defend the French language has sharpened enormously as a result of industrialization, urbanization, a considerable fall in the birth rate among French Québécois, and heavy postwar immigration which swells the English school system. The strong, almost unanimous independentist sentiment among the Québécois students is directly linked with an expansion in educational structures during the last decade which has multiplied the student population without any corresponding increase in job opportunities.

The growing support for *l'indépendantism* (this is the word favored by Québécois nationalists, who consider "separatism" a pejorative term) is profoundly revolutionary. It signifies above all a collective disillusionment in the capacity of the existing legal and political structures — and by implication, the *social* structures which they consecrate — to overcome the national inequality; and it denotes a deep desire for a radical change from top to bottom in the entire political structure. This is the essential revolutionary dynamic of the national consciousness.

So far this profound nationalist feeling has politically been reflected most directly in the refracted mirror of petit-bourgeois opinion — the decision of the États Généraux in favor of independence, the splits of nationalist currents from the established pro-federalist bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties (Liberals and Ralliement des Créditistes) and the successive dissolution and regrouping of petit-bourgeois independentist currents which finally resulted in the first unified independentist party — the Parti Québécois (PQ). The working class, which has not yet risen to political being through its own mass party, has yet to develop fully its program for national emancipation.

But the strong showing of the PQ in its first electoral test in April 1970 dramatically underscored the growing strength of independentist feeling among the working class. The PQ received close to 25 per cent of the popular vote — the support of one in three Francophone Québécois, and about half the industrial workers in Montreal.

The vote for the PQ could be considered the complement of the mass extra-parliamentary struggles which have shaken the Quebec nation. The main issue behind those mobilizations — the language question — tends by its very logic to raise the demand for a vast extension of the authority of the Quebec state, which is responsible for education and cultural affairs. The evidence from the polls showing a relatively high concern among PQ voters in such social issues as education, unemployment and housing also indicates that insofar as the class defines its social objectives, they are formulated in an independentist framework. Similar tendencies have been remarked many times in the case of the student movement — often, the bellweather for indicating the path of radicalization in the working class. The significance of the conjunction of social and national demands was metaphorically summarized many years ago by Leon Trotsky when he observed that the separatism of the Catalan workers and peasants in Spain was "the envelope of their social indignation."

The entirely progressive thrust of national consciousness toward a mass sentiment for independence opens a new, advanced stage in the Quebec struggle, a stage of great revolutionary significance.

Two years ago we had reason to believe that the struggle would proceed in another direction. We said: "The political independence of French Canada stands as an historic alternative, which cannot be approved or rejected except in terms of given social conditions at a given time. At this time, there are no grounds to believe that the working class, by adopting the program of political independence, would advance its interests in any way, in terms either of its present class consciousness or of its ultimate objective of defeating the power of the monopolies politically buttressed by the Ottawa regime."

We noted that "no tendency of the Quebec labor movement has adopted an independentist program," and questioned whether there is "such a gap in the level and direction of the class struggle in Quebec and in English Canada that the workers struggle could be advanced by orienting to political independence from English Canada." The Quebec working class, we observed, "is already beginning to move along the lines of independent political action . . . the general motion toward a labor party is now becoming clear." We suggested that "the projected party could well in fact be formed as a constituent part of the NDP (New Democratic Party)."

The powerful upsurge of nationalism and its militant repercussions in the labor and student movements have confirmed our understanding that *national* consciousness — awareness of their oppression and exploitation as a nation — would play a key role in the development of *class* consciousness among the Québécois workers. But contrary to the perspectives we traced in 1968, the development of political consciousness has proceeded through the growth of independentist sentiment and has veered from the road of

independent labor political action to take a detour through the Parti Québécois, a bourgeois party.

Confronted by this new situation, the revolutionary socialists are obliged to go beyond defense of the right of the Québécois nation to self-determination, to put forward now the demand for an independent and socialist Quebec. The League must undertake a major turn in its work, toward the emerging nationalist movement. We must aim at nothing less than to gain the leadership of the national struggle around the only program guaranteeing an independent Quebec, the program of revolutionary socialism.

Two aspects in particular of this new development must be analyzed: first, the precise character and revolutionary significance of the new mass movement for independence; and second, why the nationalist thrust has gone toward the Parti Québécois and what the emergence of the PQ means for the future development of the struggle.

The desire for an independent state has been a recurring theme throughout Quebec's political history, particularly since the British conquest of 1760 which transposed a national form onto the developing class conflicts within the former French colony. The nascent French-Canadian bourgeoisie who played the leading role in the events culminating in the 1837-1838 armed rebellion in Lower Canada made clear that they aimed to establish a sovereign state — the political expression of the French-speaking "Canadian nation" — on the banks of the St. Lawrence. (This separatist objective in no way inhibited these early revolutionaries from collaborating closely with their co-thinkers in Upper Canada, accepting, for example, the proposal of William Lyon Mackenzie for an eventual *federation* of states, with a mutual sharing of powers in communications, immigration and land concessions.)

The defeat of their bid for power in 1837-1838 and the confirmation of the hegemony of the English-Canadian bourgeoisie through Confederation in 1867, confined the social base of the French Canadian petit-bourgeoisie to independent small enterprise and the rural economy, and later, with the penetration and expansion of the imperialist sector, to the role of urban subcontractors and managerial satraps in the private corporations and provincial civil service.

Their nationalism developed a conservative, particularist orientation centered around participation in the pan-Canadian political structures while defining French Canada as a nation possessing the right to autonomy (but not self-determination) with respect only to powers affecting its cultural and narrowly national rights. This remained the prevailing expression of French-Canadian nationalism as it was articulated in Quebec political life until well after the Second World War.

If this "cultural autonomism" reflected above all the ideology of a defeated bourgeoisie, the entire population tended to mobilize around nationalist themes wherever tensions between the dominant English-Canadian nation and the oppressed French-Canadian nation boiled over in crises mobilizing the broad masses, both rural and urban, of French Canada — Riel, the Manitoba schools,

Boer war, the conscription crises of First and Second World Wars, etc. At times it took a separatist form, as in 1917 when a motion to separate was debated in Quebec's legislative assembly.

But the independentist *movement* as such is a relatively recent phenomenon which developed during the 1960s, and only during the last year or so became a mass movement drawing into its ranks thousands of industrial workers as well as students, clerical and professional layers.

For revolutionary socialists, the overwhelming evidence that the thrust of Quebec politics today is toward independence has enormous progressive significance. The clear evolution of working-class sentiment toward support for political independence answers an important question which has for some time been posed in the Quebec left.

Every nationalism revolves around concepts which are in form common to all classes in the nation: nation, language, territory, etc. But each class within the nation injects its own social content into its nationalist program. The bourgeoisie, for example, primarily interested in ensuring its freedom to control the market, emphasizes demands for territorial integrity and a standing army to protect it; political institutions like parliament to ensure its political hegemony; and cultural institutions like a state religion to reinforce its ideological domination. It advances the demand for a national state categorically because for it a national state is the necessary condition for its full development as a ruling class.

The petit-bourgeoisie, insofar as it poses demands distinct from those of the bourgeoisie, stresses democratic objectives like the universal vote and free education, designed to extend the rights of citizenship to all classes of the nation, in the first place to the petit-bourgeoisie.

The workers are the most consistent defenders of democracy, and so they naturally support the democratic demands cited above. But they go further by raising demands such as freedom of trade union organization aimed at increasing their power to organize as a class independent of the bourgeois state. Because they as yet lack their own political party, the Quebec workers have not yet articulated a fully developed program of national demands; this will only take shape as the class organizes independently on the political arena. But already a number of nationalist demands have been formulated by the trade union movement — such as the demand that French be made the sole language of work, the language of collective bargaining and contracts, and on the shop floor; and the demand for wage parity of Quebec workers with workers in neighboring Ontario.

Today, the period of deepening imperialist crisis ushered in by the Russian revolution and aggravated by another world war, increasing competition from the expanding sector of workers states, and the development of the colonial revolution since the second world war, is characterized by the decreasing ability of the national bourgeoisie in the oppressed dependent capitalist nation to play any sort of independent role vis-à-vis imperialism; by the increased absolute and strategic weight of the working class in the political life of those

nations and the necessity for this proletariat to take on many of the tasks traditionally assigned to the capitalist class of a "normal" developing bourgeois state, including the tasks of national liberation; and by the reappearance of powerful nationalist movements among oppressed nationalities and nations in the developed imperialist countries of Europe and North America where the vast majority of the population is working class.

In Quebec all three tendencies have come into focus simultaneously in a conjunctural period of deepening economic crisis of the North American capitalist economy.

### **The right of self-determination**

The workers party defends unconditionally the democratic *right* to self-determination for all oppressed nations, up to and including their right to separate. But whether socialists in an oppressed, nation like Quebec should demand political independence depends on how we see the direction of the struggle unfolding, and above all on whether the mass of the population in the oppressed nation shows a clear inclination to mobilize in support of the demand for political independence in its struggle for national emancipation.

Where the struggle is clearly orienting toward political independence, the international workers party has always been the foremost defender of the independence movement. Thus Marx, for example, was an early and forceful advocate of independence for Ireland, and held that the English workers would never be free until Ireland had achieved its independence from the British Crown. His views were carried forward by James Connolly who built a working-class independence movement in the early years of this century around the slogan "For a Workers Republic of Ireland." Today, the upsurge of the nationalist movement for independence in the North confirms the correctness of the Marx-Connolly position.

In a number of more recent instances, Trotsky, building on the traditions and experience of the Bolsheviks in Russia, considered the demand for political independence in the program of the workers party. He proposed that in Spain the proletarian vanguard should adopt the slogan of separation for Catalonia if the Catalonian masses should indicate that they wished to separate, either "by means of a free plebiscite, or by an assembly of representatives of Catalonia, or by the influential parties followed by the Catalonian masses, or finally by a Catalan national revolt." (Leon Trotsky, *Écrits 1928-1940, Tome III [Publications de la Quatrième Internationale, Paris, 1959]*, page 408.) Similarly, he raised the demand for a united, free and *independent* workers and peasants Ukraine in 1939, on the basis of his understanding that "the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR." ("Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads," *Fourth International, Vol. 10 [December, 1949]*.)

When we formulated our approach to the issue of separatism in 1968 on the basis of these general considerations, we had no reason to believe that (as we stated) "To adopt the program of separation of Quebec from English Canada" would "advance the overall struggle." We noted that the existing independentist movement had failed to win support

or much interest from workers; that no significant sector of the labor movement supported *l'indépendantism*; and that on the contrary, "the strong roots of the NDP in Quebec and the association of the majority of the organized working class in Quebec with the Canadian Labor Congress provide evidence of Quebec labor's awareness of the great benefits to be gained for its struggle by allying itself with the organized forces of the English Canadian working class, in a common struggle against the federal state."

This assessment, correct two years ago, has since been decisively invalidated by the actual course of development of the working class and its organizations. The objective political thrust of the struggle remains, of course, against the imperialist oppression of the Canadian bourgeois and their central state apparatus. But rather than move toward a closer alliance with English-Canadian workers and participation in a unified pan-Canadian labor party, the Quebec workers struggle has increasingly developed its own national tempo.

The Quebec Federation of Labor (QFL), while continuing its formal support for the federal NDP, has refused to endorse the NDP on the Quebec (national) level, and continues to press for autonomy within the Canadian Labor Congress. Despite continuing internecine conflict in the construction trades sector, the major trade union federations — the QFL, the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) and the Corporation des Enseignants du Québec, the teachers union — have drawn closer together over distinctly Quebec issues, including joint political action initiatives at the municipal level. The unification of these labor bodies into one Quebec-wide federation of over 600,000 members — half the size of the Canadian Labor Congress — has become a realizable goal.

The backdrop to these developments has been a qualitative increase in support for *l'indépendantism* in the labor movement. The teachers union, like the CNTU, supports unilingualism and a large majority of its membership is said to support the PQ. A significant section of the QFL bureaucracy publicly identified with the PQ during the recent election campaign; and the Montreal Council of the CNTU, which formally supported the NDP in the 1968 federal election, voted to endorse the PQ in 1970.

As for the NDP, the developments since 1968 have put a serious question mark over its future in Quebec. The decision by the NDP's founding convention in 1961 to recognize the bi-national character of the Canadian state, and even to make significant gestures toward Quebec's right to self-determination, fostered hopes that the party would succeed in linking up with the new generation of Quebec radicals, and sink roots in the labor movement. However, the NDP has steadily retreated from even the modest concessions of 1961, and in the recent Quebec elections, campaigned openly as a "federalist" anti-separatist" party. It received an average of slightly over 200 votes in each of fourteen ridings it contested.

As long as there is no independentist party on the federal level, the NDP may continue to serve as an electoral vehicle for reformist demands on the Ottawa government without, however, building a serious organization in Quebec. The

initiative for independent political action in Quebec will not come from the NDP, nor can we see it playing any major role in the formation of the mass workers party.

The workers demand for independence is profoundly revolutionary in that it puts forward the concept that Quebec must be developed in terms of the needs of the Québécois. The logic of this demand is for a workers and farmers government which will take over the foreign capitalist monopolies that dominate and exploit Quebec, and will operate these industries under socialist planning. Why then has this powerful independentist sentiment taken the path of the PQ, and not a labor party with an anticapitalist perspective?

There is no doubt that the failure of the NDP and pan-Canadian labor leadership to relate sympathetically to Québécois nationalism as it developed throughout the 1960s is a primary reason why this nationalist thrust was channeled toward the PQ. But this explanation is in turn linked with another aspect of Quebec's particularity — the distinctive path of development which has characterized its working class.

### **A new working class**

Quebec's industrialization in the first half of this century, and particularly during and since the second world war, produced many changes in its class structures which have only gradually and belatedly found expression in its politics. Most significant was the rapid creation of a large urban working class thrust suddenly from the parochial, traditional life of farm, village and town into the cities, in the first place Montreal, there to come face to face with the fact that control and administration of industry are largely in the hands of foreigners with alien culture, customs, and above all an alien language.

Quebec's French-speaking proletariat was formed almost entirely through internal migration, the transition from rural petit-bourgeois to urban proletarian milieu occurring quickly and sharply over only one or at most two generations. This is a major source of Québécois militancy. In English Canada, immigration of politically experienced workers from overseas played a crucial role in shaping the early radical thinking and subsequent political evolution of the workers. In contrast, the Québécois proletariat, largely cut off from contact with European socialism, lacks even the tradition of the French revolution which took place after the Conquest, and is still very new, with few distinctive traditions.

While this explains the relative political immaturity of Québécois workers, it also has a very positive side. Insulated from the pernicious

influences of British Fabianism and German social democratic pragmatism — the back-side of the European socialist tradition — the Québécois are confronted with the possibility of leaping from reactionary Catholicism, already largely discredited, to the most advanced ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

If industrialization has created a powerful working class, for the Québécois petit-bourgeoisie which had dominated the parties and governments of Quebec, it has been a devastating experience. Its traditional rural base, which afforded this class a certain measure of stability, has been utterly destroyed, with the remnants passing into the urban proletariat, particularly during and after the second world war.

During the last thirty years, a new urban petit-bourgeoisie has developed based on managerial strata in the subsidiaries of imperialist corporations or their satellite industries, or in the provincial state apparatus which has expanded to service those industries. In the private sector the chances of a French Canadian rising to the top of the managerial hierarchy are very restricted; and this layer in its lower levels is in constant danger of assimilation into the upper layers of the working class. (A large proportion of the students in the new universities are, of course, confronted with this fate immediately upon graduation, regardless of their level of academic training.) Thus the apparatus of the provincial state offers them their only chance to gain even an illusion of playing any independent role. It is among these layers that we find the origins of the PQ.

In the postwar period, capitalist investment in Quebec poured increasingly into secondary "transformation" industries designed to process for subsequent export the resources of the primary sector in which foreign control was already heavily concentrated. This relatively sophisticated new type of industry required a vast expansion in provincial government services, including state subsidies and social measures aimed at producing a skilled and reasonably healthy work force — educational reform, state medical insurance, pensions, etc.

The expansion in the powers of the provincial state provided jobs for an increasing number of young professionally-trained French Canadians. It began, in fact, in the mid-1950s under Duplessis and the Union Nationale, the party which most faithfully represented the interests of the rural-based petty bourgeoisie, and it was accompanied by growing Quebec demands for increased taxation power.

The accession to office in 1960 of the urban petty bourgeoisie through the Liberal Party was accompanied in following years with a further escalation of Quebec's fiscal demands, passage of a few social measures including a belated but deep-going education reform, and creation of a number of state institutions designed to supplement and participate in the capitalist expansion [Hydro-Québec, Sidbec (Sidérurgie du Québec, a "mixed-capital" iron

and steel complex), Société Générale de Financement (General Investment Corporation, government subsidies to private and "mixed" capital), Caisse de Dépôts et de Placements (Deposits and Investments Fund, mainly Quebec government pension premiums), etc.] By 1964-1965 the Quebec government's structures had been "modernized" to fully correspond to the new imperialist economic structures. Although these "reforms" were accompanied by a certain amount of nationalist rhetoric, they in no way violated the imperialist interests, either English-Canadian or American.

But in the process, there developed a sector of the petit-bourgeoisie centered among the technocrats of the provincial government bureaucracy, the state enterprises and the professional faculties of the universities, who saw their fate linked with the extension of powers of the Quebec state. Increasingly frustrated with the Lesage government's efforts after 1964 to put the brakes on constitutional and fiscal reform, they were more and more attracted to *l'indépendantism* as the solution to their plight. But they lacked a base of support in the population to move out independent of the traditional bourgeois parties.

The visit of French president Charles de Gaulle to Quebec in the summer of 1967 may be said to have marked a turning point. The massive enthusiastic response to his call "Vive le Québec Libre" indicated for the first time that wide layers of the population, including significant sectors of the working class, were receptive to the independentist message. Within three months René Lévesque had broken with the Liberals and with him went a small section of the party. They went on to establish in quick succession the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association, and later — in alliance with the existing separatist currents and a nationalist breakaway from the rural-based right wing Social Credit Party—to found the separatist Parti Québécois.

The key element in the PQ program was, of course, its demand for a sovereign state of Quebec endowed with all the powers of any "normal" (capitalist) government, as the necessary instrument of the emancipation of the Québécois.

But if the Quebec petty bourgeoisie has turned to *l'indépendantism* to express its frustration at its own instability and vulnerability as a class, and its impossible desire, latent or overt, to play an independent role in economic and political life, the main significance of the PQ is that for the first time very significant sectors of the new urban proletariat in Quebec have supported a party that presented the solution to their national oppression in terms of political independence.

That this sympathy is based on the PQ's *l'indépendantism*, rather than any social "reforms" it may offer, is also demonstrated by the fate of the New Democratic Party, which in this election offered itself as a non-independentist, pro-federalist reform party. The NDP was a negligible factor in the election results, despite favorable press publicity — while the PQ swept many working-class polls. It would be ludicrous to suppose that after mobilizing in militant anticapitalist struggles which on occasion projected such far-reaching concepts as student control of the universities and workers control of industry, the Quebec workers flocked to the polls to choose a bourgeois party over a workers party. No, they voted consciously for *l'indépendantism*. And the converse of this is that because

of its *indéendantism* they did not see the PQ as a bourgeois party!

### **The petit-bourgeois nature of the Parti Québécois**

Nevertheless a clear definition of the class character of the Parti Québécois is of the utmost importance in determining the future course of development of the party and of the elements presently in sympathy with it. Decisive here is its program, its leadership, its origins and its political record.

Everything about this party indicates its thoroughly bourgeois character, its role as an obstacle in the path of the working class. Its program is the most frankly pro-capitalist of all Quebec parties. The modest social reforms it advocates are all perfectly consistent with the requirements of a "streamlined" capitalism: reform of the tax structures to take the load off declining rural sources of fiscal revenues; free education to ensure a plentiful supply of skilled labor for the imperialist conglomerates and the state apparatus; a full program of state-operated medical insurance services as part of the capitalist state's increasing assumption of the costs of reproduction of the work force.

The PQ's equivocation on "cultural rights," the touch-stone for any nationalist party, flows from its overriding desire to collaborate with, not combat, English-speaking capital. While it demands that French be made the "sole official language," it specifically opposes a unilingual school system by urging that "Quebec should recognize the school rights of the English minority . . . from elementary school to university."

The separation and "sovereignty" it advocates are consistently modeled after examples of a "cold" separation in the capitalist and neocolonialist framework: Norway from Sweden, 1905; Hungary from Austria, 1918; Pakistan from India, 1949; and "above all" Eire from Great Britain, 1921 — these are the only examples cited by *La Solution*, its electoral program. By way of contrast, even the Union Nationale's Premier Daniel Johnson saw fit on occasion to cite the self-determination provisions of the constitution of the Soviet Union, as established under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, as a model of multinational state forms!

The PQ program speaks vaguely of nationalizations "when the interest of the national economy demands it," but it proposes no specific nationalizations, and stresses "above all, the creation of new enterprises, of governmental financial reservoirs and management organisms" to guarantee imperialist superprofits.

The PQ leaders seek to extend the *dirigisme* (leading policy-making role) they project for the capitalist state to the working-class organizations, with their call for full state control over trade union membership rights, leadership, recognition as bargaining agents, and conciliation and arbitration procedures.

The PQ's bourgeois character comes through most explicitly in its attitude to the foreign monopolies, *les trusts*, whose domination of the Quebec economy is the main source of the national oppression of the Québécois. The PQ enthusiastically welcomes foreign capital and promises to do everything possible to safeguard its interests and the class relations associated with them in Quebec. The PQ's program explicitly promises the "American corporation" that in office the party will "play the role of any normal government" by ensuring that "violent extremism, continual disorder, very discordant laws and excessive taxation" do not "hinder its operations."

It is this crass pro-imperialism that most clearly distinguishes the bourgeois PQ from the typical petit-bourgeois nationalist formations of colonial and semicolonial countries. In the normal case the existence of indigenous sources of support in the form of a mass petit-bourgeois layer, the peasantry, combined with the relatively small size of the working class and the existence of a national bourgeoisie of some importance, gives the petit-bourgeoisie some flexibility to maneuver against particular imperialist and monopoly capital sectors while in general serving as an agency of imperialism.

A Canadian example of a petit-bourgeois formation was the Social Credit Party in Alberta, which started in the mid-1930s as a farmer-based populist movement with much anticapitalist rhetoric in its program. When in power it evolved toward the right, capitulating to the pressures of the war and then the influx of the oil monopolies until today it is indistinguishable from the traditional bourgeois parties and has, in fact, largely supplanted them.

But in Quebec the rural-based Ralliement des Créditistes still retains many of Social Credit's original features, and the speeches of Ralliement leader Réal Caouette are sprinkled with attacks on monopoly capital. The "radical" anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist aspects of the programs of petit-bourgeois parties reflect the relative exclusion of these layers from the main sectors of the economy, their character as petty commodity producers or professional servitors of the commercial and small capitalist sectors.

The early Union Nationale reflected the viewpoint of similar layers when it attacked the trusts. Its program in 1936, when it came to office under Duplessis, included such demands as "an end to obstacles to land settlement by the 'big lumber trusts'; "denunciation and jailing of *canaille* (scoundrel) financiers exploiting public misery"; "handcuffs on the electricity trusts"; "no purchase of government supplies from the coal trust or the Hydro trust"; "honest company laws; no stock manipulations or watering." (No such rhetoric may be found in the PQ program!)

Because they attempt to straddle class lines, nationalist parties are continually beset by internal conflicts between a right wing, based in the bourgeoisie and in the upper layers of the petty bourgeoisie and thus drawn toward imperialism, and a left wing based in the peasant or working-class mass following of the party, whose lower reaches can be attracted to the program of revolutionary socialism. The degree of conflict between these tendencies depends on the heterogeneity of the party's class composition, and its weight in the nation's political life. As it approaches power, the contradictions sharpen under the

direct influence of imperialism and its local agents, and the right wing, which normally dominates the leadership, comes under terrific pressure to drop the anticapitalist planks in its program and dissociate itself more and more from its mass base, even resorting to the violence of the state (if it is in office) to suppress its left wing.

The evolution of Quebec's Union Nationale reveals this trend toward the right but it is indicated also in the PQ's direct predecessor, the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN). An urban nationalist party, the RIN was the leading independentist party until it merged with Lévesque's Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (MSA) to form the Parti Québécois. The history of the RIN was one of continual formation of factions and splits, between a right wing which sought nothing more than bourgeois "independence" along the lines of today's PQ program and an anti-imperialist "left" obsessed with its desires for an alliance with "the national bourgeoisie" which it identified alternately with the Liberals' left wing (Lévesque) and the RIN's right wing.

The transition from the RIN to the PQ was marked programmatically by the disposal of the anti-imperialist aspects of the former's program, and the definitive rupture with its left wing which refused to enter the PQ.

The PQ's bourgeois program and its organizational monolithism show how little flexibility it has. It lacks the maneuverability of the old nationalist parties of the petit-bourgeoisie. The indigenous agricultural base has been destroyed; and the new urban petit-bourgeoisie is largely confined to a client role vis-a-vis imperialism.

The PQ's program on agriculture indicates just how thoroughly it has broken with the traditional rural-based nationalist parties: *La Solution* states baldly that "the rural or semi-rural population is destined to disappear . . . [agriculture] should be based essentially only on big exploitations, each requiring at least as much capital as the average factory."

The PQ seeks nothing more than a slight expansion of the measures undertaken in the celebrated Quiet Revolution to modernize the structures of the provincial capitalist state. "We've already come a long way," is a recurring phrase in its economic program. "Sovereignty" will give it the extra authority needed for the full exercise of the "competences" (a favorite PQ word), the "levers," the "tools," to operate the system.

The Parti Québécois is a bourgeois party presently without the support of any significant sector of the bourgeoisie — French-Canadian, English-Canadian or American. But its program indicates how completely these layers of the Quebec petty bourgeoisie which control the PQ are drawn toward, identify with and depend upon the big bourgeoisie.

The PQ is all the more firmly committed to the bourgeois path because of the petit-bourgeoisie's declining possibility to maneuver between imperialism and the potentially powerful but still inchoate mass working-class movement.

Its strength is not its bourgeois program, but its nationalist appeal. Yet the

*indépendantism* of the PQ leadership is not the powerful, self-confident expression of a dynamic new class, but the uneasy, fearful reaction of unstable layers which feel themselves threatened by the growing weight of imperialist interests. Their only refuge is the vulnerable state of Quebec — to which they attribute miraculous redemptive powers with all the pathetic mystification of a petit-bourgeoisie which identifies its dreams with reality. If only they could have their own state to do in the 1970s what their ancestors failed to do in 1837-1838! Alas for them, what was unaccomplished then is impossible now.

If imperialism blocks the petit-bourgeoisie's hopes for a "quiet" bourgeois national revolution, the development of a powerful working class embracing the vast majority of the nation's population offers an alternative ally, which, moreover, has every interest in fighting imperialist domination. But insofar as the working masses are mobilized in the national struggle, they threaten to move against not only foreign capital but also its agents in Quebec, to challenge the entire bourgeois structure.

Unable to see beyond the imperialist reality of today, fearful of its own position, the petit-bourgeoisie dreads the mass movement and does everything it can to confine its own struggle within the narrow limits of the electoralist, parliamentarist machine that is the Parti Québécois. The PQ strenuously tries to assure foreign capital that it is the best block to the mass movement.

### **PQ not responsible to workers**

Its present working-class support gives the PQ what maneuverability it has against the traditional bourgeois parties. (In fact, the PQ's electoral success is largely attributable to the absence of a mass workers party.) But — and this decisively differentiates the PQ from, say, the NDP — the trade unions are not in any way committed to the PQ. They did not create it; they do not finance it; they do not control it; and they have already been led to criticize the party's program while giving it electoral endorsement. To win working-class support and to maintain the sympathy it already has among workers, the PQ may be obliged to promise or undertake some anti-imperialist measures, by taking on one sector of imperialism while all the more firmly committing itself to another. *But it in turn is not responsible to the workers or their trade unions.*

Is a petit-bourgeois leadership capable under any circumstances of conducting a serious struggle against imperialism and the national bourgeoisie? In Cuba, the 26th of July Movement, under a radical petit-bourgeois leadership, led a socialist revolution. But the Castro leadership *began* with a program which, while largely bourgeoisdemocratic, promised thoroughgoing agrarian reform and industrialization — both demands striking at the root of imperialist and capitalist domination of Cuba. Most significantly, it had a clear understanding that the Batista dictatorship could only be unseated by revolutionary armed struggle which it made a principle in its relations with other groupings. It sought

to mobilize and later armed the proletarian masses. Its relative independence of the bourgeoisie enabled it to move to the left under the blows of U.S. reaction to its initial moves against monopolies. Less than a year after coming to power, it had completely broken with the Cuban bourgeoisie politically.

The Parti Québécois is no such movement. If the Cuban example shows us the most exceptional left-wing variant of a petit-bourgeois nationalist leadership, the PQ appears as the most bourgeois, least anti-imperialist of bourgeois nationalist parties. It is responsible to the bourgeoisie, not the working class. It represents above all the political immaturity of the class struggle in Quebec, the lack of political traditions in the French Canadian working class.

The PQ program indicates how thoroughly the party is controlled by its leadership. While the 90,000 members of the PQ are predominantly students, housewives, clerical workers and a scattering of individual trade unionists, its leading cadres are almost without exception men thoroughly committed to the bourgeois outlook — skilled bourgeois politicians, former top civil servants, wealthy professionals, "technocrats" of the state enterprises, journalists and other ideologists for the bourgeoisie.

Most of them are associated directly with the government bureaucracy and organizational structures which have grown up during the last twenty years or so as part of the latest wave of imperialist penetration into Quebec. They are contemptuous of the working class; some were responsible for framing restrictive labor legislation while in the civil service; and the party has already on numerous occasions supported emergency laws to force strikers back to work (police strike, Montreal civic employees, etc.).

Many PQ leaders have long records of faithful service in the traditional bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties. The PQ leader René Lévesque held several ministerial portfolios in the Liberal cabinet headed by Jean Lesage. PQ deputy leader Gilles Grégoire led a nationalist wing in the federal Social Credit Party's House of Commons deputation. PQ Vice-President Jacques Parizeau was a top economics advisor to both Liberal and Union Nationale regimes, and helped draft much of the present antilabor legislation.

The PQ has already destroyed many who abandoned their own organizations to enter it. This liquidationism was rationalized on the basis of the theory — unfortunately still widely held in the Quebec left — that as a bourgeois party the PQ is a necessary stage in Quebec's liberation struggle. On the other hand, entry was justified by some on the grounds that the PQ might evolve into a labor party or, in power, a workers and farmers government capable of, and undertaking, serious anticapitalist measures.

The first theory is just a re-edition of the discredited "theory of stages" of Menshevism

and Stalinism; it is a denial of the leading role of the working class, not to speak of the necessity of the proletarian vanguard party in resolving even the national tasks of the revolution. As for the speculation that the PQ could evolve into a labor party, everything that is known about this party rules out such a path of development.

Far from evolving toward a labor party, the PQ will tend to harden in the opposite direction. For many years, one of the two major bourgeois parties in Quebec has been identified with a relatively nationalist stance. There is every indication that the Parti Québécois may become the alternative party of the bourgeoisie. The Union Nationale, which has played that role for over thirty years, has now been cut down to its declining rural base, and is probably irretrievably smashed as a result of the April 29 debacle. The PQ's reformist demagogic and base in the urban petit-bourgeoisie makes it a very eligible candidate to succeed the UN.

Thus it is absolutely impermissible for revolutionaries to dissolve themselves into the PQ. To do so is to bury the revolutionary forces, just when they most need to maintain an independent face.

But the PQ includes within the ranks of its members and supporters thousands of workers and youth who are in the first stages of politicization. Thus it contains many elements of the future mass revolutionary party. Some elements in the left have therefore suggested that revolutionists should take a tactical orientation to the PQ and work within it to win forces for the future workers party.

There is nothing in principle to prevent revolutionary socialists working for their ideas and building their own forces in even a bourgeois nationalist party like the PQ so long as they retain their distinct identity and freedom to criticize the party. But the Parti Québécois is in no way an arena for revolutionary action.

Whatever formal democracy the party's structures may appear to have, it is firmly controlled by its petit-bourgeois leadership with their bourgeois outlook. Even at its founding convention, the "left" was soundly defeated and its leading spokesman, former RIN leader Pierre Bourgault, was excluded from the executive slate. Subsequently he was denied nomination in two different ridings before being allowed to contest unsuccessfully the present prime minister's seat. When it appeared that the PQ convention delegates might support a motion calling for a unilingual Quebec, Lévesque intervened and virtually put his job on the line to prevent its passage. Mobilizations of the PQ membership are in general limited to election meetings, county association meetings (where the petty-bourgeois elements heavily predominate) or the occasional recruitment rally which is usually designed as a comparatively apolitical gala event. The party does not even publish a regular newspaper for the membership.

It is the Lévesque wing which defines the party's character; their views prevail, not those of the tail-ending "leftists" and reformist trade union officials who cling to the PQ's coattails out of their own fear of the mass movement. Insofar as the labor movement mobilizes against capital, it will come into conflict with the PQ.

The PQ is a massive diversion from the revolutionary struggle, an obstacle to the national liberation of the Québécois. The PQ cannot be "reformed." It must be destroyed.

The workers will not be won to the politics of class struggle by unprincipled maneuvers. Revolutionists must maintain complete political and organizational independence of the PQ. This is a precondition for taking the leadership of the mass struggles to come which will confront and expose the PQ for what it is.

For all its strategic limitations, however, the PQ has some measure of tactical flexibility on its left, depending largely on the degree to which the trade union leadership is prepared to play along and give it a plausible left cover. It is not excluded that under the pressure of the mass movement, the PQ might accede to power before the workers, who provide the main thrust in the independence struggle, have succeeded in building their own mass party.

In their book *La Souveraineté et l'Économie*, the PQ leadership has already outlined in some detail their strategy for a "cold" independence — "in order, in moderation, in as rational a framework as possible" — carried off with the support of the English-Canadian and American bourgeoisie in order precisely to head off a mass movement to the left of the PQ which threatened to launch a "suicidal economic war" (as the PQ puts it) against imperialist interests.

But it is doubtful that a PQ government, borne to power on the crest of a powerful mass movement for independence, could maintain the social stability required by its bourgeois policies without resorting to the most repressive forms of rule — dispensing with parliament, taking measures to suppress the trade unions, etc. Far from being a progressive stage in Quebec's road to national liberation, a PQ government would be a frankly reactionary government.

## **Tasks of socialists**

The essential contradiction of the Parti Québécois is that it has co-opted almost the entire nationalist movement and most of the left, but is completely incapable of responding to the revolutionary challenge posed by the independentist movement. The revolutionary socialists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière are now faced with the responsibility of moving further into the nationalist movement in order to identify with it, defend it, and participate in all its ongoing mass actions to project our program — which presents the only road to a meaningful independence for Quebec, namely, independence in the socialist framework.

We have always identified entirely with the broad nationalist movement, but that movement now becomes a key arena for the work of the LSO. Today the direction of the working class is clearly mapped along the independentist road. The PQ reflects the present political level of the mass independentist sentiment, whose common

denominator is as yet not much more than the vague demand for sovereignty. But it would be a serious error to equate the movement for independence with the PQ, which represents more its backward features than its revolutionary potential.

Does an orientation to the nationalist movement at this stage in its political development risk subordinating the revolutionists to the politics of the bourgeoisie and the petit-bourgeoisie? On the contrary, not to get involved in the movement will abandon it to those alien class forces which feed on the confusion spawned by the lack of an independent working-class voice and encouraged by the absence of the revolutionary socialists.

Our main task is to intervene in the movement, to build the revolutionary socialist cadre and to push the independentist thrust along its natural course toward anticapitalist conclusions. The whole logic of development is toward confrontation with the PQ — through growing conflict between the PQ and the broad labor, student and extra-parliamentary nationalist movement and, within the PQ, between its mass base and the leadership. The most likely perspective for the PQ is a polarization between its right wing which fears the mass movement, and a left wing which reflects the pressure of the mass movement on the PQ; as this pressure builds, it will be accompanied by attempts to build factions, by splits and probably hasty expulsions of the left. The revolutionary socialists must therefore work within the nationalist movement to build the independent class alternative outside the PQ, confronting it, challenging it to act, and providing the vehicle for the leftward-moving forces propelled out of the PQ by the increasingly pro-capitalist policies of its leadership. How long the PQ is able to sustain and capitalize on the mass illusions in its potential as a vehicle for national liberation depends largely on the success of the revolutionists in building a viable, class alternative to the PQ.

The basis for that alternative already exists in the trade unions, the powerful mass organizations of the Québécois working class. Their 600,000 members have already engaged in militant struggles which have brought them into sharp conflict with not only the traditional bourgeois parties and governments, but also the labor policies of the Parti Québécois. Many more confrontations are on the agenda.

Already, the struggles of the labor movement have shown a powerful tendency to overflow the limits of the economic struggle and to seek a political expression. Until recently, the movement toward formation of a Québécois labor party could be clearly discerned.

Has the development of the PQ invalidated this perspective? Not at all. The PQ is simply another revelation of the depth of nationalism and independentist sentiment in the broad layers of the working class. But it also under-scores the failure of the trade unions and the NDP leadership to come to grips with the national question. In this sense the PQ is the direct result of the NDP's hostility toward Quebec's right to self-determination, and to the rotten chauvinism of trade union bureaucrats in English Canada whose comprehension of the Quebec national question has been characterized by demagogic attacks on "separatism" which lack nothing in their resemblance to the similar themes of spokesmen for the ruling class.

But the *objective* forces propelling the trade unions toward independent labor political action remain, even if the PQ detour has delayed their impact for an indeterminate length of time. And so long as the revolutionary socialist forces are small and relatively isolated from the mainstream of the class, the demand for a Quebec labor party retains all its relevance, as a means of popularizing in a realistic way, the need to break from the PQ.

A mass workers party — so necessary to break the Québécois worker from the morass and misleadership of bourgeois and petit-bourgeois politics — will undoubtedly be independentist. And, forged in the struggle against the explicitly bourgeois reformism of the PQ, it can be revolutionary.

Our task is to project a program which exposes the insufficiency of the Parti Québécois and points toward the labor party — the independent party of the trade unions — as the next logical step along the road to the independence of Quebec. This concept that independence of the nation lies through emancipation of the class, and vice versa, may be expressed through the demand: For an Independent, Socialist Quebec, Launch the Labor Party.

If the demand for a labor party retains validity, however, the immediate perspective is postponed. The alliance, albeit temporary and tenuous, of a section of the trade union leadership with the PQ means that the case for a labor party must be posed more than ever in terms of programmatic demands projecting the workers into struggle against the bourgeois politics upheld by the PQ, and in the direction of independent class action, demands around which a new, class-struggle leadership in the unions will be forged. While even a labor party shackled with a reformist program would be a step forward, we must make clear that a mass *revolutionary* party is what is required and what we seek.

Because the demand for an independent Quebec has also been raised by nonworking-class forces for their own reasons, and so far articulated most clearly by them, its revolutionary implications may not be readily apparent to those unaccustomed to the Marxist method of searching out the essential class dynamic in the demand. While the petit-bourgeoisie obscures that dynamic by failing to link it with a consistent program of anti-imperialist, anticapitalist demands, for revolutionaries the demand for independence must be expressed in the demand for an independent, *socialist* Quebec.

The demand for independence, once taken up by the broad forces of the working class, has a powerful logic that can raise all other aspects of the revolutionary program. The demand for an independent, socialist Quebec poses politically what the NDP in English Canada poses organizationally for the class: Who is to rule? — The capitalists and their agents who are completely linked with foreign capital; or the workers, the only ones with a consistent class interest in breaking with the foreign monopolies?

The LSO/LSA 1968 resolution projected our revolutionary program in the framework of the Quebec labor party, which we had every reason then to consider imminent. Consistent with the turn in our orientation, we should now pose that program in the framework of what an independent workers and farmers Quebec will do. In the short run, this tactical

presentation of our program can be very useful in describing the difference between our program and the program and actions of the bourgeois Parti Québécois.

How to present the challenge of an independent, socialist Quebec? A few examples will suffice.

### **The program for an independent socialist Quebec**

We demand that French be made the sole official language, the language of instruction in all schools and the language of industry at all levels. If the capitalists won't oblige, let the trade unions or workers councils name plant administrators who speak French and represent the interests of the Québécois nation, to replace the arrogant, chauvinist Anglophone administrators who buttress the rule of their class by trampling on the most elementary national rights of the Québécois.

"Maîtres Chez Nous?" (Masters in Our Own House?) "Sovereignty?" An independent socialist Quebec would institute economic planning in the interests of the Québécois, against the monopolies which plunder our resources to stuff their coffers in the foreign financial capitals of the world. As an essential first step we would move to take over all the key sectors of the foreign industries — which constitute 80 per cent or more of Quebec capital — and put them under workers control. A program to expropriate foreign capitalists might logically develop out of the campaign for nationwide wage parity with Montreal, and wage parity between Quebec workers and their Ontario brothers. Companies which threatened to move out of an independent Quebec would be nationalized.

The petit-bourgeoisie pushes to the fore its demand that Quebec have an independent voice internationally . . . in cultural affairs. An independent foreign policy? By all means. But an independent Quebec must speak out in solidarity with the colonial revolution, with Vietnam, with Cuba and all countries struggling to free themselves from the oppressive grip of U.S. imperialism and its allies. An independent socialist Quebec will favor aid and trade with these countries and all the workers states on the path of socialist development. It will break from the imperialist alliances and ally itself with the anticapitalist bloc.

What does the struggle for independence mean for the future course of relations between the Québécois workers and the workers of English Canada? If the Québécois workers struggle has tended in recent years to develop a tempo of its own, rather than develop in harmony with the earlier pattern of increasing organizational unity with English-Canadian workers, this is due above all to the impact of the national question in Quebec. To the radicalizing effect of national consciousness, has been added the alienation resulting from the failure of the English-Canadian workers movement to defend French Canada's right to self-determination.

Unity between the workers of both nations can come only through struggle, based on a common understanding that the Quebec nation has the right to determine its own future,

including the right to separate if it wishes. Now more than ever, our movement must concretize this right within the labor movement by defending the demand of Quebec trade unions for full autonomy within pan-Canadian and international union structures.

Like the Blacks and Chicanos in the United States, the Québécois workers, because of their national oppression, have already shown their capacity to play a vanguard role in the developing struggle for socialism in North America. The developing sentiment for Quebec independence marks another major step forward, by demonstrating a growing awareness among the Québécois workers that they are in no way represented in the existing power structures. Even the vote for the PQ in April 1970 demonstrates in a distorted fashion their willingness to fight for their independence as a class.

As for the revolutionary socialists, by going beyond our defense of self-determination, the keystone of our position on the national question, to solidarize now with the demand for independence, we lay the essential basis for our intervention in the mass movement in the period ahead. The heirs of the finest traditions and the most advanced theoretical achievements of the international working-class movement, the cadres of the LSO/LSA are destined to play a leading role in the struggles to come. Their ability, unique in the left, to withstand the mass pressure to capitulate to the PQ, testifies to their intransigent adherence to revolutionary principles.

Does our support for an independent Quebec necessitate the formation of a separate Quebec section of the Fourth International? The one does not follow from the other.

Our program for the nation — self-determination (in the case of Quebec political independence) — cannot be confused with our concept of the party — democratic centralist. The Fourth International is not a federation of independent, national parties, but a world party. The interests of the working class are international because the bourgeoisie which it seeks to overthrow is organized on a world scale.

But the bourgeoisie governs through national or multinational states. Thus the key criterion governing the division of our world movement according to distinct sections is the orientation of the struggle in a given area against a single centralized state apparatus. A secondary criterion justifying separate sections is in the case of external colonies where, apart from the obvious difficulties in coordinating the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie through one organization embracing the different nationalities, there is little similarity in political structures, historical traditions, etc. because the economy of the oppressed nation is not structurally assimilated into that of the metropolis.

In both Quebec and English Canada, the struggle remains oriented primarily against the Canadian bourgeoisie, English and French, and their central state

with its government at Ottawa. As long as Quebec is a part of the Canadian state, it is in the interests of revolutionists in both nations to participate in a single, centralized combat party best able to coordinate our common struggle against a centralizing, imperialist bourgeoisie which dominates both nations and maintains its rule in part by seeking to foster and exploit national differences between the workers of the two nations.

Our support for a single revolutionary party in Canada flows from the experience of our international movement, beginning with the Bolshevik party, a party which succeeded in uniting and mobilizing the workers of many different nationalities oppressed under the czarist autocracy, to carry out the world's first socialist revolution. The Bolsheviks, wrote Trotsky, flatly rejected the national-federation principle in building the party. A revolutionary organ is not the prototype of the future state, but merely the instrument for its creation. An instrument ought to be adapted to fashioning the product; it ought not to include the product. Thus a centralized organization can guarantee the success of revolutionary struggle — even where the task is to destroy the centralized oppression of the nationalities. ( *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Ann Arbor edition, Vol. III, pages 37-38.)

The argument here against a federated party applies against a separate party in a nation or a nationality where the struggle is directed against an oppressive state power whose essential political and economic structures encompass the oppressed nation.

The case for a single revolutionary party based on the norms of democratic centralism is strengthened in the case of Quebec by the obvious similarity of political systems, economic structures, and the organizational links which already exist between the workers of both nations.

But the differing tasks and tactical situations faced by comrades in each respective nation require also considerable flexibility in our approach to party structures — especially now when the struggle in Quebec is oriented toward political independence. Within the framework of a single pan-Canadian revolutionary organization, we have made some accommodation to the independent dynamic and needs of the Quebec struggle — through such measures as distinctive names for the movement in each nation, conscious promotion of Francophone cadres in the leadership, a distinct editorial board for our French language journal, joint Political Committee-Montreal Central Committee meetings, special speaking rights for Québécois comrades at conventions on matters concerning Quebec, etc.

Further structural adaptations will no doubt become necessary as the struggle progresses. In particular, there must be constant collaboration and a flow of information and analysis of Quebec developments within the party leadership. Special emphasis must be placed on strengthening and expanding our French-language press in the next period.

Through combining a sensitive appreciation of the national question with the firmest organizational commitment, we will fulfil our objective of building the strong party necessary to overthrow the centralized rule of the Canadian bourgeoisie and set the workers of both nations on the road to socialism.

Our united forces in both nations have played a vital role in the struggles which have already unfolded in Quebec. The LSO and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes intervened actively in the mass movement for a French-only school system, the occupations of the schools and colleges, and the struggle against Bill 63. Our English-Canadian comrades sponsored a cross-country tour for Raymond Lemieux, the leader of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire, and have fought consistently in defense of Quebec's rights within the NDP. Comrades in both nations have been outspoken defenders of Quebec's political prisoners.

If the struggle on the political plane appears stalemated temporarily by the rise of the PQ, the very explosiveness of Quebec's social contradictions ensures that the next period will continue to be characterized by a series of far-reaching mobilizations in the extra-parliamentary arena, although often related to events in the national assembly, like the struggle against Bill 63. Our movement must be geared to intervene in those movements as a dynamic independent tendency armed with its own program of transitional demands.

Insofar as the PQ feels obliged to participate in these movements in order not to lose contact with its mass base, this will necessarily mean working in a united front with hostile class forces. Already, the LSO has taken a turn in this direction with its intervention in the Front d'Action Politique (FRAP) in Montreal, a broad grouping of trade unions, *péquistes* (PQers), citizens' committees and left organizations aiming to contest the forth-coming municipal elections.

Revolutionists can identify with and work in such multi-class alliances so long as the workers organizations, including the trade unions and our own organization, have complete political and organizational freedom, including the right to criticize publicly the line of the other organizations in the alliance.

As the struggle in Quebec moves onto a qualitatively higher plane, its defense in English Canada assumes a greater importance in the work of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. Our solidarity with the powerful anticapitalist demands of the Quebec movement will popularize many aspects of our general revolutionary program, not least our call for a workers government in English Canada.

### **The international dimension**

The national struggle in Quebec is part of a world-wide phenomenon. Scarcely a single one of the leading capitalist countries today is untouched by the development of powerful nationalist movements among oppressed peoples within its own borders. This development, unforeseen by Marx, was partly anticipated in Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. That theory, reaffirmed in practice many times over, projects the possibility for relatively backward nations to pass over directly to socialism resolving through workers power the traditional bourgeois tasks of independence, agrarian revolution, etc.

The reverse side of the coin of permanent revolution, as it were, is that the delay of socialist revolution in the advanced imperialist countries has, in the epoch of imperialism, brought about a revival and resurgence of nationalist tendencies among peoples whose national character was thought to have been suppressed for all time by ascendant capitalism. Because those oppressed nationalities and nations are overwhelmingly proletarian, their struggles have a powerful dynamic of their own which adds a significant new dimension to the class struggle in the entire country.

Quebec has maintained its national identity over a continuous history of centuries of domination by foreign powers — the Québécois are the only one of the original European peoples who colonized the Western hemisphere never to have won even formal political independence.

Today, the rise of a powerful nationalist sentiment and the independentist movement in this nation with its own territory, language, customs, historical traditions — and above all a skilled proletariat — has put socialist revolution on the agenda in a major sector of the Canadian state and of the North American capitalist economy.

Quebec's strategic geographical and economic position means that its revolution, at once national and socialist, has a powerful radicalizing effect on the workers in English Canada, and is thereby a big step forward toward the overthrow of capitalism on the entire continent.

This international aspect of the struggle has always guided our perspectives. Marx fought for Ireland's independence, but added that after separation (from England) might come federation. The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky advanced the slogan For a United Socialist States of Europe to concretize the form of relations it envisaged between workers states following the extension of the Russian revolution to Western Europe.

If the advanced workers of Quebec have shown their fighting capacity by inscribing the demand for political independence on their banners, there is every reason for an independent, workers Quebec to link its struggle with that of the workers of all North America, around a similar concept. Thus, to René Lévesque's proposition of separation then a capitalist common market which will retain Quebec's oppression, the socialists counterpose the United Socialist States of North America — a free Quebec in a socialist world.

## **The Challenge of the New Youth Radicalization**

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**Presented by the Central Executive Council of the Young Socialists to the 1970 Convention**

Capitalism on a world scale is in a state of intense crisis. It is faced with continual convulsions, economic crises and revolutions. One third of the world's people, in Russia, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba, have freed themselves from its control in massive social upheavals and revolutionary struggles continue to confront it in every part of the globe. In Vietnam, Palestine, Bolivia and throughout the whole colonial world, the imperial power of capitalism is being challenged. At the same time, the advanced capitalist countries face within their borders a radicalization on an unprecedented scale, primarily among youth. France in 1968, the occupation movement in Quebec, and the upsurge of U.S. students in response to the invasion of Cambodia have demonstrated the potential of this new radicalization - a radicalization which no capitalist class has been able to hold back.

The crisis of the imperialist system has been felt sharply in Canada. The ruling class is increasingly revealing its inability to solve the obvious problems of poverty, unemployment and inflation even PhD's find themselves unable to get jobs in this "affluent" society. All the efforts of the capitalist class to alleviate the crisis have only intensified it. Despite all their White Papers and Royal Commissions, poverty continues to exist, unemployment increases.

Canadian youth feel the crisis of modern capitalism directly - it is their future which is at stake. The intensifying radicalization of youth, expressed in a general rejection of authority and the established order, springs from the fact that this society is unable to satisfy human needs. Everywhere there is a search for new ideas, new roads - for changes in every aspect of our society, changes that cannot wait.

Capitalism promises the world but it cannot deliver the goods. More than that, it distorts and perverts humanity's potential. Nuclear energy could enrich the world - instead capitalism produces the Bomb. Modern birth control and abortion could free women to control their bodies and begin to control their lives, but instead it is withheld from those who need it most, young unmarried women, by hypocritical attitudes and archaic laws. Agricultural techniques make it possible to end starvation --instead the government pays farmers not to grow wheat.

Capitalism puts profit before people. It has demonstrated its willingness to use repression, war and genocide to maintain itself. The tiny minority that owns and controls the economy turns everything into a commodity. You aren't a human being: you're a consumer, an employee, a body, a statistic. Anything which can't be bought and sold is irrelevant or dangerous to the system.

The youth rebellion stems directly from the alienation and regimentation capitalism produces. It takes on a variety of forms, as youth radicalize around their own experiences and protest against the aspects of the system that affect them physically and emotionally. The new radicals are lashing out against the most brutal and dehumanizing aspects of the system against war and racism, against the oppression of women, against the destruction of our environment.

They demand self-determination for themselves, for the Vietnamese, for women for all the

oppressed. The demands for human liberation, though they may not reflect a thorough understanding of the nature of the problem and its solution, have a revolutionary dynamic. Their direction is thoroughly anti-capitalist.

### **Quebec - Vanguard of the Radicalization**

The depth of the crisis of Canadian capitalism is revealed most blatantly by its inability to satisfy the national aspirations of the Quebecois. Anglo-Canadian and American capitalism have been oppressing Quebec as a nation for decades. They have used Quebec as a pool for cheap labor and a source of super-profits. The domination of English-speaking capital in Quebec has produced the most profound radicalization in Canada, perhaps on the continent. Massive protests have swept Quebec year after year.

Students have been in the forefront of these struggles demanding a french-only school system and adequate educational facilities. They have been propelled by the knowledge that even after school, this system has nothing to offer them.

*(Prime Minister Pierre)* Trudeau's response to the growing independentist movement was the harshest repression this country has seen in decades. The War Measures Act suspended all normal democratic procedures, in an attempt to behead and destroy the movement for independence. Seventy-five hundred troops occupied Quebec, confirming the federal government's determination to maintain power over Quebec, whatever the cost. The War Measures Act graphically illustrates that Quebec is a nation of hostages, kidnapped 200 years ago.

They talk about minorities which threaten democracy; the most dangerous, most anti-democratic minority in the country is the capitalist class and its front men in Parliament.

The greatest threat to the continued rule of that class is the radicalization of the Quebecois, a radicalization which expresses itself in the demand for independence. Independence from everything the English-speaking bosses and their representatives in Ottawa stand for. Capital speaks English in Quebec: as a result the movement against capitalism is expressed as a movement for unilingual schools, for the preservation of Quebecois language and culture, for independence. Only socialism =the placing of the wealth of the Quebec nation in the hands of the Quebecois - can make political independence meaningful.

The ruling class has no answer to the demands of the Quebecois except brute force, in order to preserve stability they had to eliminate civil liberties =there is no clearer indication of the dilemma before Canadian capitalism. Trudeau attempted to halt the independence movement: instead he intensified the hostility of the Quebecois to the federal system, and opened the eyes of many English Canadian youth to the true nature and importance of the struggle of the Quebecois. Trudeau's prestige, his image as a progressive swinger, is at its lowest ebb.

Socialism poses the only alternative to the oppression and repression of capitalism - for

Quebec and for English Canada. Capitalist society has created the means for satisfying humanity's needs - but only socialism can put these means to work. The massive wealth controlled now by a minority must be placed in the hands of the majority. Just for a start we have to eliminate the duplication and waste, the hunger, poverty and ignorance, that so-called free enterprise generates. Only a planned economy, with the offices, factories and schools under the democratic control of the workers and students, can make that possible. Only by establishing a society which says that people are more important than profit can we ensure self-determination, liberation, for everyone.

But it is not enough to be aware of the problems and the solution. We have to be able to bring about the solution. Capitalism has generated the crisis which can lead to socialism, and the material conditions that make socialism realizable, but only a mass movement led by revolutionary socialists can ensure that the change will take place. It can't be done without an organization, a program, a strategy - all designed with the single aim of destroying the old society and building a new one. That's what the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes is all about.

### **A Mass Action Strategy**

Fundamental social change -- socialism -- requires a revolution, a change in the whole structure of society, brought about by the conscious action of the majority of Canadians. No minority or elite, whether through some form of coup or through reforms, can accomplish this change.

The involvement of the YS/LJS in the building and leading of mass movements is based on our recognition of this fact. The system is designed to keep people divided and isolated, to keep them within established channels. Mass action, independent of and directly challenging the ruling class, presents a challenge to capitalism which it cannot co-opt. The power of the oppressed • workers, women, students, *Québécois*, the Native people • lies in their lack of any vested interest in the present system, in their numbers and in their ability to act collectively in their own interests.

At the same time, we recognize that a mass socialist movement will not be established except insofar as people, through their experiences, come to recognize its necessity. Through involvement in mass action against the system, people come to understand the nature of that system and the necessity of transforming it. The many students who have come to socialist conclusions as a result of their participation in the anti-war and women's liberation movements are concrete proof of this.

The test of a revolutionary movement and its program is in its participation in mass movements - in its ability to provide the correct direction for them and, through that process, win people to socialism. Over the years we have seen a variety of organizations which rejected mass action wither and die; and there are still a number of groups, including Maoist grouplets, the remnants of the new left, and the (*pro-Moscow --ed*) Communist Party, which consistently oppose a mass action strategy. They opt instead for either piecemeal reforms or some imaginary short cut to the revolution. The YS/LJS, on the other hand, has established itself in the forefront

of the most important mass struggles going on in Canada today precisely by its realization that independent mass actions are essential in the struggle for socialism.

### **Women's Liberation**

In the women's liberation movement, our orientation to building a movement which can unite all women, regardless of their views on other matters, in a struggle against oppression, is absolutely necessary for it to realize its full revolutionary potential. The tremendous success of the abortion caravan gave us a small glimpse of the potential of a movement built on this basis. Recently there has been a drive by some ultra-leftists to divert the movement away from mass action towards the creation of a women's organization composed solely of avowed revolutionaries. This perspective not only isolates the movement, thereby rendering it powerless, but it also excludes women from becoming revolutionaries through participation in the struggle against their oppression. The February 14 actions for the repeal of the abortion laws are counterposed to the strategy of the ultra-lefts and will be crucial in the extending of a mass action perspective and the education of the movement.

### **The Antiwar Movement**

The role of the YS/LJS in building the anti-war movement is well known. The slogans we have long advocated "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" and "End Canada's Complicity" have been conclusively shown to be the only slogans which can build a mass movement while opposing U.S. imperialism and its Canadian supporters one hundred percent. Through these transitional demands which relate to the present level of political consciousness and direct that consciousness against the capitalist class - we have become the leaders of the anti-war movement in every part of the country.

Our role in supporting the Vietnamese revolution stands in contrast to the ultra-leftists who have vacillated between ignoring the movement and trying to lead it into violent confrontations with the cops; and to the reformists, like the Communist Party, who have attempted to turn the movement into a left-wing pressure group on the ruling class. It is only through mass independent action that the rulers of Canada and the U.S. can be forced to halt their aggression in Vietnam a victory for the Vietnamese would be a victory for everyone who wants to build a better world.

### **Americanization**

An issue to which the mass action strategy is particularly relevant is the fight against the growing American domination of the schools. This anti-imperialist sentiment has been one of the main results of the world wide crisis of imperialism and a prominent factor in the radicalization of Canadian students.

U.S. imperialism dominates the whole capitalist world. Every national capitalist class has had to work out an arrangement with these cops of the world, but few have worked out such a cosy relationship, as the one between the Canadian and U.S. rulers. The U.S. invades a country; Canada explains how it is a peacekeeping move. Trudeau passes the War Measures Act; Nixon

phones up to see if he needs any help. Canadian capitalism has fully adopted the values, concepts and objectives of American imperialism. As a result all capitalist institutions in this country, particularly the educational institutions, are at the service of American imperialism by special arrangement with the Canadian capitalist class.

In response to this problem the Waffle Caucus in the New Democratic Party and others have proposed a quota restricting the number of American professors who would be allowed to teach in Canada. But this proposal does not effectively challenge the roots of the Americanization problem. The fight against the Americanization of the universities is the fight against capitalist control.

The effective response to Americanization lies in mass student action. Demands like "End campus complicity in the U.S. war effort" and "No research or strategic resources for the U.S. war machine", confront the problem directly and can lead to mass actions against Americanization, and at the same time confront the capitalist class and its universities here in Canada.

The universities must be taken out of the control of the profit-hungry minority and put to the service of the revolutionary struggle. The YS/LJS program for the campuses puts forward such demands as Big Business off the Boards of Governors, and for control of the university (including course content and hiring and firing) by the students, faculty and staff. We don't want courses that are abstractly "Canadian" we want the true history of the Canadian working class, the Native people, the suffragist movement: the history that capitalism hides. We want a university that is open to everyone, with living allowances for all students. It is through mass action around such demands that the university can be transformed into an organizing centre for the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Canadian junior partners.

## **Response to the War Measures Act**

The mass movements which now exist are only the beginning. We can expect mass actions on a variety of issues to merge in the coming period on local student questions, on domestic social questions like pollution and in particular around the defense of civil liberties and democracy. Our response to the War Measures Act crisis is an exemplary model of the way in which the YS/LJS acts to build mass movements.

Though Trudeau succeeded in temporarily demobilizing the Quebec independence movement by arresting over 400 of its leaders, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes moved out immediately to challenge Trudeau's repression. In the midst of the repression, despite the arrest of two of the most prominent campaign workers, we moved the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes - Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière mayoralty election campaign into high gear, and we transformed it into a campaign against the repression.

We picketed the army, distributed election leaflets illegally, organized protest meetings in the midst of the occupation. A special issue of *Jeune Garde* was published. We participated in launching a broad defense committee. Everywhere we made the lessons clear: only massive

public action can defeat the attack. For a period we were the only group to meet the attack frontally, but today protests of the trials of those charged under the War Measures Act are beginning to develop on a broad scale.

At the same time, in English Canada, the Young Socialists were among the first to cut across the chauvinism that Trudeau was counting on. Within hours of the imposition of the act we held the first public speakouts, rallies and demonstrations on many campuses. We initiated committees for the defense of civil liberties; we sent speakers through Eastern Canada and to the United States. Our co-thinkers in the U.S. organized demonstrations at Canadian Consulates.

Maintaining this activity, and in particular, building united defense of the Quebecois now facing jail for their ideas, is a first priority for the YS/LJS at this time. The defense of those arrested is the defense of the right to free speech in this country - a right which exists not through the benevolence of the bourgeoisie, but was won through the struggles of Canadian working people.

### **Working Class Political Action**

The victory of the mass action strategy for socialism is predicated on two closely related factors: the entry of the working class into the struggle to overthrow capitalism, and the successful creation of a revolutionary working class leadership.

Those who write off the working class as a potentially evolutionary force are in fact writing off socialism as a realistic perspective. The development of a mass revolutionary student movement will play a crucial role in the process of transforming the system. But only the working class, comprising the vast majority of the population, has the strategic economic and social position to eradicate capitalism and organize society democratically and in the interests of the vast majority of Canadians.

It is crucially necessary, then, for revolutionary students to ally themselves with the most politically advanced sectors of the working class, and support independent political action by the working class. In English Canada this means first of all support of the New Democratic Party as the political party of organized labor.

But at the same time as supporting the NDP as a break with the political parties of big business, we must recognize that the NDP's present image-conscious leadership and program of reforming capitalism will never bring socialism to Canada. That's why we fight for a socialist program in the NDP and are conscious of the necessity to build a revolutionary party. Such a party must have a program and organization adapted to confronting the bourgeoisie at every turn and must be rooted in the working class. In Canada, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière with its program and organizational concepts has such a perspective.

As the YS/LJS constitution states, we are in full political solidarity with the LSA/LSO. We are part of a common movement which has the goal of building the revolutionary party. In many areas, YS/LJSers have been instrumental in launching new LSA/LSO branches. At the same time, the experience and support of the LSA/LSO have been essential to the building of the

YS/LJS.

## **An International Strategy**

Youth are beginning to confront capitalism on an international scale. The development of an international strategy, designed to meet and defeat imperialism on all fronts, is an essential basis for building a revolutionary movement. The struggle of the Vietnamese, the struggle of the Palestinians, the struggle of the Quebecois, the struggle of English Canadian youth all of these are part of a generalized anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist thrust. Our internationalist outlook is not sentimentalism: it is based on a recognition of the fact that only a concrete international strategy can establish socialism.

It is for this reason that we build the movement against imperialism in Vietnam, for example, and it is for the same reason that we are a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International World Party of the Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. Our organization and all our activities are geared to one end a socialist (Quebec and *handwritten insert ed.*) Canada in a socialist world.

During the ten years since our founding, the YS/LJS has grown from a handful of activists into a cross-Canada organization. Since our last convention in particular, we have seen important growth, reflecting the impact of the new radicalization.

In Fredericton, the leadership of the New Brunswick Socialists, and in Saskatoon the leadership of the Committee for a Socialist Movement, have joined the YS/LJS. This process decisions by already existing groups of revolutionaries that it is necessary to join the YS/LJS - is just a small reflection of the deepening radicalization. It is towards this radicalization which the YS/LJS must direct itself.

A number of experiences indicate the potential that exists. In Montreal, the Leger for Mayor campaign marked a break- through for our movement, established new connections and opportunities for us on a broad scale. The campaign was symbolic of the opposition of the Quebecois to the War Measures Act, and the vote we received reflected this. On the New Brunswick South Shore, a group of high school and working youth have joined the YS/LJS as a result of their experiences in a company town. The Beaver Harbor and Black's Harbor locals are now moving to spread socialism throughout the region.

One of the most dramatic indicators of the possibilities before us was the speaking tour we organized for a leading LJS'er, Penny Simpson, a victim of the War Measures Act. This was the most successful speaking tour that we have ever organized in Canada. Meetings of hundreds of students were the norm. In St. John's, Newfoundland, 1500 students -- 25% of the student body turned out. Everywhere we came into contact with new radicals who were interested in finding out about and joining the YS/LJS, often in cities in which no radical organization has ever had any strength. In Peterborough, Ontario, for example, the tour laid the basis for the launching of a large YS local on the Trent University campus.

## Tasks Before the YS/LJS

The new radicalization gives our movement the possibility of growth on an unprecedented scale. Making this growth a reality this growth a reality is the most important task of the YS/LJS in this period.

This is not a task which can be postponed or delayed. We are at present in the best position of any left organization to organize these new radicals. We have the program that can meet their needs, and we have the largest and most active organization in the country. But no revolutionary organization can ever rest on its laurels. Unless we move now to give the new radicals the program and organization of revolutionary socialism, the radicalization may well be diverted or dissipated by the bourgeoisie and by other left currents.

## Regional Organizing

There is not a city in this country in which a local of the YS/LJS cannot be established. Concretely, this means full time traveling organizers in those areas where it is feasible and generally preparing ourselves to move into new areas very quickly.

Regional organizing involves more than recruitment: it also involves the education and consolidation of new locals. The role of the cross-Canada leadership, in developing a unified understanding of our program and organization is particularly important, and will be increasingly so in the coming period.

Careful attention to education takes on added importance in a period of growth. The ideas of Marxism, as developed over the past century, are the only reliable guide to revolutionary action. Only systematic educational activity, through reading, classes, educationalists at local meetings and so on, can ensure that the movement is equipped to meet the even greater challenges we will face in the future. We aim to have every member of the YS/LJS familiar with our program, and capable of putting it into effect in a wide variety of situations.

The greatest potential for the growth of revolutionary socialism exists in Quebec, In particular through connections in the high schools and the CEGEPs. *Jeune Garde*, now a bi-monthly tabloid, will play a key role in this process. Montreal, with the full support of the cross-country movement, must be seen as the organizing centre for the entire Quebec nation.

In the areas in which we are already established, we must expand our efforts to reach and organize radical youth. Selling the *Young Socialist*, holding a wide variety of educational activities, campus forums, social activities and so on, must be increased. Our involvement in mass movements, in particular defense of Quebec civil liberties, the anti-war movement, the women's liberation movement and the movement against the Americanization of education continues to be central to our activity. Our movement must reflect the dynamic and creative spirit of the new radicalization, angry, irreverent and above all revolutionary.

We are not building the YS/LJS just for the sake of adding numbers to our ranks. We are attempting to build a movement of leaders capable of leading the student movement in the struggle

for socialism in this country. Our democratic centralist organizational structure, involving full internal democracy and full unity in action, is vital to this process.

The growth in numbers and influence of the YS/LJS over the last year is only an indication of the possibilities before us. Our task is to realize this potential.

(end)

## **Le défi de la Nouvelle Radicalisation**

**Présenté par le Conseil Exécutif Central de la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes au Congrès de 1970 --**

Bulletin Interne Vol. 7 No. 1 1970

Le capitalisme à l'échelle mondiale subit une crise intense. Continuellement il doit faire face à des convulsions, des crises économiques et des révoltes. Par des soulèvements sociaux massifs en Russie, en Europe orientale, en Chine et à Cuba, un tiers de la population mondiale s'est libérée de son contrôle; des luttes révolutionnaires continuent à l'affronter dans tous les coins du globe. Au Vietnam, en Palestine, en Bolivie, partout dans le monde colonial, la puissance impériale du capitalisme se voit défiée et remise en question. En même temps, à l'intérieur même de leurs frontières, les pays capitalistes avancés font face à une radicalisation sans précédent, principalement parmi la jeunesse. La France en 1968, le mouvement d'occupation au Québec et le soulèvement des étudiants aux E.U. en réaction à l'invasion du Cambodge ont démontré le potentiel de cette radicalisation — une radicalisation qu'aucune classe capitaliste ne s'est avéré capable de contenir.

La crise du système impérialiste s'est fait ressentir durement au Canada. La classe dirigeante démontre de plus en plus son incapacité à résoudre des problèmes aussi évidents que la pauvreté, le chômage et l'inflation — même des «doctorats» se trouvent incapables de se dénicher un emploi dans cette société «d'abondance.» Tous les efforts de la classe dirigeante pour soulager la crise n'ont réussi qu'à l'intensifier. Malgré tous ses livres blancs et ces commissions royales, la pauvreté continue d'exister et le chômage d'augmenter.

La jeunesse canadienne se ressent directement de la crise du capitalisme moderne — c'est leur avenir qui est en jeu. La radicalisation croissante de la jeunesse qui s'exprime par un rejet général de l'autorité et de l'ordre établi, découle du fait que cette société est incapable de satisfaire les besoins humains. Partout se retrouve un recherche de nouvelles voies, de nouvelles idées — une recherche de changements dans tous les aspects de notre société, de changements qui ne peuvent attendre.

Le capitalisme promet la lune mais ne peut tenir ses engagements. Bien plus, il déforme et pervertit le potentiel de l'humanité. L'énergie nucléaire pourrait enrichir le monde entier — le capitalisme préfère produire la bombe. Les méthodes modernes de contrôle des naissances et l'avortement pourraient libérer les femmes et leur permettre de contrôler leurs corps — plutôt, par des attitudes hypocrites et des lois archaïques, on en prive celles qui en auraient le plus besoin, des jeunes femmes non-mariées. Les techniques agricoles pourraient rendre possible la disparition de la famine — plutôt, le gouvernement paie les fermiers afin qu'ils ne cultivent pas leur blé.

Le capitalisme met le profit avant le bien-être des gens. Il a démontré sa volonté d'utiliser la répression, la guerre et le génocide pour se maintenir. La minuscule minorité qui possède et contrôle l'économie transforme tout en marchandise. Vous n'êtes pas un être humain: vous êtes un consommateur, un employé, un corps, une statistique. Tout ce qui ne peut être acheté et vendu est soit sans importance soit dangereux pour le système.

La rébellion de la jeunesse découle directement de cette aliénation et de cette enrégimentation produites par le capitalisme. Elle prend des formes variées, au fur et à mesure que la jeunesse se radicalise autour de ses propres expériences et qu'elle proteste contre ces aspects du système qui l'affecte physiquement et émotivement. Les nouveaux radicaux s'attaquent aux aspects les plus brutaux et les plus déshumanisants du système — à la guerre et au racisme, à l'oppression des femmes, à la destruction de notre environnement. Ils exigent l'auto-détermination pour eux-mêmes, pour les Vietnamiens, pour les femmes — pour tous les opprimés. Leurs revendications pour la libération humaine, même si elles ne reflètent pas une compréhension complète de la nature du problème et de sa solution, possèdent une dynamique révolutionnaire, leur orientation est entièrement anti-capitaliste.

## **Le Québec Avant-Garde de la Radicalisation**

La profondeur de la crise du capitalisme est révélée de la façon la plus flagrante par son incapacité de satisfaire les aspirations nationales des Québécois. Depuis des décades les capitalismes anglo-canadien et américain oppriment le Québec en tant que nation. Ils ont utilisé le Québec comme source de super-profits et de main-d'oeuvre à bon marché. La domination du Québec par le capital anglophone a produit la plus profonde radicalisation au Canada, peut-être même du continent. Années après années des protestations massives submergent le Québec.

Les étudiants ont été à l'avant-garde de ces luttes exigeant un système scolaire unilingue français et des facilités éducationnelles adéquates. Ils ont été propulsés dans ces luttes par la conscience que ce système, même après leurs études, n'a rien à leur offrir.

Trudeau a répondu à la force croissance du mouvement indépendantiste par la plus violente répression que ce pays ait connue depuis des décades. La loi des mesurés de guerre a tenté de décapiter et de détruire le mouvement indépendantiste par la suspension de toutes les procédures démocratiques normales. 7,500 soldats ont occupé le Québec, confirmant la détermination du gouvernement fédéral de se maintenir au pouvoir, quel que soit le coût. La Loi des Mesures de Guerre illustre sans équivoque que le Québec est une nation d'otages, enlevée il y a 200 ans.

Ils parlent de minorité, mettant la démocratie en danger; la plus dangereuse, la plus anti-démocratique des minorités: dans ce pays est celle de la classe capitaliste et de ses hommes de paille au parlement.

La radicalisation des Québécois, une radicalisation qui s'exprime dans la revendication pour l'indépendance constitue la plus grande menace à la continuation du règne de cette classe. Indépendance de tout ce que représentent les "boss" anglophones et leurs représentants d'Ottawa. Le capital parle anglais au Québec: conséquemment, le mouvement contre le capitalisme s'articule comme un mouvement pour des écoles unilingues, pour la préservation de la langue et de la culture québécoise, pour l'indépendance. Seul le socialisme -- la remise des richesses de la nation québécoise aux mains des Québécois — peut rendre réelle et significative l'indépendance politique.

Aux revendications des Québécois, la classe dirigeante n'a d'autre réponse que la force brutale. Afin de protéger la stabilité elle a dû éliminer les libertés civiles -- c'est l'expression la plus claire du dilemme du capitalisme canadien.

Trudeau a tenté d'arrêter le mouvement indépendantiste: il a, au contraire, accru l'hostilité des Québécois à l'égard du système fédéral et ouvert les yeux de plusieurs jeunes Canadiens-anglais quant à la vraie nature et à l'importance de la lutte des Québécois. Le prestige de Trudeau, son image de "swinger" progressiste est à son plus bas.

Le socialisme présente la seule alternative à l'oppression et à la répression capitaliste — et pour le Québec et pour le Canada-anglais. La société capitaliste a créé les moyens nécessaires à la satisfaction des besoins de l'humanité — mais seul le socialisme peut faire fonctionner ces moyens. Les immenses richesses actuellement contrôlées par une minorité doivent être remises entre les mains de la majorité.

Pour débuter, nous aurons à éliminer la duplication et le gaspillage, la faim, la pauvreté et l'ignorance engendrés par la soit-disant entreprise libre. Ceci n'est possible qu'au moyen d'une économie planifiée où bureaux, écoles et usines seront soumis à la contrôle démocratique des travailleurs et des étudiants. Ce n'est qu'en établissant une société qui peut affirmer que le bien-être des gens importe plus que le profit que nous pourrons assurer l'auto-détermination et la libération de tous.

Mais il ne suffit pas d'être conscient du problème et de sa solution. Nous devons être en mesure de réaliser cette solution. Le capitalisme a engendré la crise qui peut aboutir au socialisme, à assurer l'existence des conditions matérielles qui rendent le socialisme réalisable. Mais seul un mouvement de masse dirigé par des socialistes révolutionnaires, peut assurer que le changement du capitalisme au socialisme se réalisera.

Ceci ne peut se faire sans organisation, sans programme, sans stratégie — tous ayant leur fonction de détruire la vieille société et d'en bâtir une nouvelle, et c'est le but que s'est fixé la Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (Young Socialists).

## Une Stratégie d'Action de Masse

Un changement social fondamental — le socialisme — exige une révolution, un bouleversement de toute la structure sociale, mené à bien par l'action consciente de la majorité des Canadiens. Que ce soit au moyen d'une quelconque forme de "coup" ou au moyen de réformes, aucune minorité, aucune élite, ne peut accomplir ce changement.

La participation de la LJS/YS dans la construction et la direction de mouvements de masses, se base sur la reconnaissance de ce fait. Le système est construit de telle sorte qu'il maintient les gens divisés et isolés, qu'il les maintient dans le carcan des canaux et des voies déjà établis. L'action de masse menée indépendamment et directement défiant la classe dirigeante, présente au capitalisme un défi qu'il ne peut coopter. La puissance des opprimés — travailleurs, femmes, étudiants, Québécois, peuples indigènes — réside dans leur absence d'intérêts dans le maintien

du système actuel, dans leur nombre et dans leur capacité d'agir collectivement pour défendre leurs intérêts par leurs propres expériences.

Nous reconnaissons en même temps qu'un mouvement: socialiste de masse ne pourra s'établir que dans la mesure où les gens reconnaîtront sa nécessité. Par leur participation à des actions de masse dirigées contre le système, ils viendront à comprendre la nature de ce système et la nécessité de le transformer. Le grand nombre d'étudiants qui sont arrivés à des conclusions socialistes par leur participation au mouvement anti-guerre et au mouvement de libération des femmes illustre ceci de façon concrète.

Ce qui éprouve la valeur d'un mouvement révolutionnaire et de son programme, c'est sa participation dans les mouvements de masse — son habileté à leur offrir l'orientation juste et au moyen de ce processus de gagner les gens au socialisme. Au cours des dernières années nous avons vu dépérir et disparaître nombre d'organisations qui rejetaient l'action de masse; aujourd'hui encore il subsiste un certain nombre de groupes, y compris des groupuscules maoïstes, des débris de la nouvelle gauche et le parti communiste qui s'opposent constamment à une stratégie d'action de masse. Ils choisissent plutôt soit de lutter pour des miettes de réformes, soit de rechercher des raccourcis pour aboutir à la révolution. Pour sa part, la LJS/YS s'est établie aux toutes premières lignes de combat des plus importantes luttes de masse se déroulant actuellement au Canada, précisément parce qu'elle est consciente que l'action de masse est essentielle dans la lutte pour le socialisme.

## **La Libération de la Femme**

Dans le mouvement de libération des femmes, notre orientation de construire un mouvement capable d'unir toutes les femmes, quelles que soient leur opinions sur d'autres questions, est absolument nécessaire si ce mouvement veut réaliser pleinement son potentiel révolutionnaire. L'énorme succès de la caravane pour les avortements ne nous a donné qu'un simple aperçu du potentiel d'un mouvement établi sur cette base. Récemment, nous avons vu une poussée de certaines ultra-gauchistes visant à dévier le mouvement des actions de masse vers la création d'une organisation de femmes composées uniquement de révolutionnaires avouées. Non seulement cette perspective isole-t-elle le mouvement, le rendant ainsi impuissant, mais en plus elle empêche des femmes de devenir révolutionnaire par leur participation dans la lutte contre leur oppression. Les actions du 14 février pour l'abrogation des lois sur l'avortement se contreposent à la stratégie des ultra-gauchistes et joueront un rôle crucial dans l'éducation et dans l'extension d'une perspective d'action de masse au sein du mouvement.

## **Le Mouvement Anti-guerre**

Le rôle joué par la LJS/YS dans la construction du mouvement anti-guerre est bien connu. Les slogans que nous avons depuis longtemps mis de l'avant — "retrait immédiat des troupes U.S.", "Fin à la complicité canadienne", se sont définitivement démontrés les seuls slogans capables de construire un mouvement de masse tout en s'opposant à l'impérialisme américain et à ses partisans canadiens. Par ces revendications transitoires — revendications qui peuvent toucher le niveau de conscience politique capitaliste — nous sommes devenus les dirigeants du mouvement anti-guerre dans tous les coins du pays.

Notre rôle dans l'appui à la révolution vietnamienne contraste avec l'attitude des ultra-gauchistes qui ont constamment oscillé entre ignorer complètement ce mouvement et tenter de l'amener à des confrontations violentes avec les flics; il contraste également avec celui des réformistes comme le parti communiste qui a tenté de transformer ce mouvement en groupe de pression de gauche sur la classe dirigeante. Ce n'est qu'au moyen de l'action de masse indépendante que les dirigeants du Canada et des Etats-Unis peuvent être obligés à cesser leur agression au Vietnam — une victoire pour les vietnamiens seraient une victoire pour tous ceux qui veulent construire un monde meilleur.

## **L'américanisation**

La stratégie de l'action de masse est d'une importance particulière dans la lutte contre l'accroissement de la domination américaine sur les écoles. Ce sentiment anti-impérialiste est l'un des principaux résultats de la crise mondiale de l'impérialisme et un facteur important dans la radicalisation des étudiants canadiens.

L'impérialisme U.S. domine tout le monde capitaliste. Toute classe capitaliste nationale doit parvenir à une entente avec ces gendarmes internationaux. Très peu d'entre elles ont pu développer des relations aussi douillettes que celles qui existent entre les dirigeants canadiens et américains. Les E.U. envahissent un pays; le Canada explique qu'il s'agit d'une action destinée à maintenir la paix. Trudeau impose les mesures de guerre; Nixon lui lâche un coup de fil pour savoir s'il n'aurait pas besoin d'aide. Le capitalisme a totalement adopté les valeurs, les concepts et les objectifs de l'impérialisme américain. Il en résulte que toutes les institutions capitalistes de ce pays, et plus particulièrement les institutions d'éducation sont au service de l'impérialisme américain par arrangement spécial avec la classe capitaliste canadienne.

Pour répondre à ce problème, le caucus "Waffle" au sein du Nouveau Parti Démocratique ainsi que d'autres éléments ont proposés un quota qui restreindrait le nombre de professeurs américains qui auraient la permission d'enseigner au Canada. Mais cette proposition ne remet pas efficacement en question les racines du problème de l'américanisation. La lutte contre l'américanisation des universités c'est la lutte contre le contrôle capitaliste des universités.

La seule réponse efficace à l'américanisation réside dans l'action étudiante de masse. Des revendications telles "Fin a la complicité des campus avec l'effort de guerre américain" et "Aucune recherche, aucune ressource stratégique pour la machine de guerre U.S.", affrontent le problème directement et peuvent amener des mobilisations de masse contre l'américanisation, tout en affrontant la classe capitaliste et ses universités au Canada même.

Les universités doivent être arrachés du contrôle d'une minorité affamée de profit et mises au service de la lutte révolutionnaire. Le programme de la LJS/YS met de l'avant des revendications qui appellent à l'expulsion des représentants du grand capital au sein des conseils d'administration et au contrôle de l'université (y compris sur le contenu des cours, sur les engagements et les congédiements) par les étudiants, professeurs et autres membres du personnel.

Nous ne voulons pas de cours qui soient abstraitemment "Canadiens" -- nous voulons entendre la véritable histoire de la classe ouvrière canadienne, des peuples indigènes, du mouvement suffragiste: l'histoire que le capitalisme cache. Nous voulons une université ouverte à tous et des allocations pour tous les étudiants. C'est par l'action de masse suscitée autour de telles revendications que l'université peut être transformée en centre organisateur pour la lutte contre l'impérialisme U.S. et son partenaire junior canadien.

## Réponse à la Loi des Mesures de Guerre

Les mouvements de masse existant actuellement ne sont qu'un début. Nous pouvons nous attendre, pour la prochaine période, à la naissance de mobilisations de masse autour de questions diverses -- problèmes étudiants locaux, problèmes sociaux domestiques tels la pollution et plus particulièrement, autour de la défense des libertés civiles et de la démocratie. Notre réponse aux lois des mesures de guerre offre un modèle exemplaire de la façon dont la LJS/YS agit en vue de la construction de mouvements de masse.

Bien que Trudeau aie réussi temporairement à démobiliser le mouvement indépendantiste Québécois en emprisonnant 400 de ses dirigeants, la LJS a immédiatement réagi en défiant la répression de Trudeau. En plein milieu de la répression, malgré l'arrestation de deux des gens clés de notre campagne électorale, nous avons intensifié la campagne LSO-LJS pour la mairie en la transformant en campagne anti-répression.

Nous avons établi des lignes de piquetage devant des casernes, distribué illégalement des tracts électoraux, organisé des meetings de protestation en plein milieu de la répression. Un numéro spécial de Jeune Garde fut publié. Nous avons participé au lancement d'un très large comité de défense. Partout nous avons clairement fait comprendre que seules des actions publiques de masse pouvaient défaire la répression. Pour toute une période, nous avons été le seul groupe à aborder cette attaque de front, mais aujourd'hui des protestations contre les procès des accusés en vertu des mesures de guerre se manifestent sur une large échelle.

En même temps, au Canada anglais les Young Socialists étaient parmi les premiers à contrer le chauvinisme sur lequel Trudeau comptait tant. A peine quelques heures après l'imposition des mesures de guerre nous tenions les premières manifestations sur plusieurs campus. Nous avons lancé des comités pour la défense des libertés civiles; nous avons envoyé des conférenciers dans l'est du Canada et aux États-Unis. Nos co-penseurs aux E.U. ont organisés des manifestations devant les consulats canadiens.

Le maintien de cette activité et le lancement d'une campagne de défense unitaire des Québécois menacés d'emprisonnement pour leurs idées est la première priorité de la LJS/YS a ce moment. Défendre ces accusés c'est défendre la liberté de parole dans ce pays – une liberté qui n'existe pas à cause d'une quelconque attitude bénévole de la bourgeoisie mais une liberté qui a été gagnée par les luttes des travailleurs canadiens.

## **L'action Politique de Classe Ouvrière**

La victoire de la stratégie d'action de masse pour le socialisme dépend de deux facteurs étroitement liés: l'entrée de la classe ouvrière dans la lutte pour le socialisme et la création d'un leadership révolutionnaire de la classe ouvrière.

Ceux qui rejettent la classe ouvrière en tant que force révolutionnaire potentielle rejettent le socialisme en tant que perspective réaliste. Le développement d'un mouvement étudiant révolutionnaire de masse jouera un grand rôle dans le processus de transformation du système. Mais seule la classe ouvrière, qui comprend la vaste majorité de la population jouit de la position économique et sociale stratégique nécessaire pour faire disparaître le capitalisme et pour organiser démocratiquement la société dans l'intérêt de la vaste majorité des canadiens.

Il est conséquemment crucialement (décisivement –ed.) nécessaire pour les étudiants révolutionnaires de s'allier aux secteurs politiquement les plus avancés de la classe ouvrière et d'appuyer l'action politique indépendante des travailleurs. Au Canada anglais ceci signifie premièrement appuyer le Nouveau Parti Démocratique en tant que parti politique du mouvement ouvrier organisé.

Mais tout en appuyant le NPD en tant qu'expression d'une rupture avec les partis politiques du grand capital, nous devons reconnaître que ni le leadership du NPD, soucieux de l'"image" qu'il projette, ni le programme du NPD, qui vise à réformer le capitalisme, n'amèneront le socialisme au Canada. C'est pourquoi nous combattons pour un programme socialiste au sein du NPD et que nous sommes conscients de la nécessité de construire un parti révolutionnaire. Un tel parti doit posséder un programme et une organisation apte à affronter la bourgeoisie partout où c'est nécessaire. Il doit plonger des racines dans la classe ouvrière. Au Canada, la League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière avec son programme et son organisation possède une telle perspective.

Comme le déclare la constitution de la LJS/YS, nous sommes politiquement pleinement solidaires de la LSO/LSA. Nous faisons partie d'un mouvement commun ayant pour but de construire le parti révolutionnaire. Dans plusieurs régions la LJS/YS a joué un rôle clé dans l'établissement de branches de la LSO/LSA. Inversement, l'expérience et l'appui de la LSO-LSA ont été essentiels à la construction de la LJS/YS.

## **Une Stratégie Internationale**

La jeunesse commence à affronter le capitalisme à l'échelle internationale. Le développement d'une stratégie internationale destinée à rencontrer et à défaire l'impérialisme sur tous les fronts, constitue une base essentielle pour la construction d'un mouvement révolutionnaire. La lutte des vietnamiens, la lutte des palestiniens, la lutte des québécois, la lutte de la jeunesse canadienne-anglaise — toutes font parties d'une poussée anti-impérialiste et anti-capitaliste généralisée. Notre perspective internationale ne relève pas du sentimentalisme: elle se fonde sur la reconnaissance du fait que seule une stratégie internationale concrète peut établir le socialisme.

C'est pour cette raison que nous bâtissons par exemple le mouvement contre l'impérialisme au Vietnam. C'est pour la même raison que nous sommes une organisation sympathisante de la Quatrième Internationale, parti mondial de la révolution socialiste, fondée

par Léon Trotsky en 1938. Notre organisation et toutes nos activités visent un seul but -- un Canada socialiste et un Québec socialiste dans un monde socialiste.

Dans les dix dernières années depuis sa fondation la LJS/YS s'est transformée d'une poignée de militants en une organisation implantée dans tout le Canada. Depuis notre dernier congrès, plus particulièrement, nous avons connu une croissance importante qui reflète l'impact de la nouvelle radicalisation.

A Fredericton, le leadership des "New Brunswick Socialists", et à Saskatoon, le leadership du "Committee for a Socialist Movement", se sont joints à la LJS/YS. Ce processus — ces décisions par des groupes déjà existants qui considèrent nécessaires de se joindre à la LJS/YS — n'est qu'une petite indication de la radicalisation croissante. Et c'est vers cette radicalisation que la LJS/YS est orientée.

Nombre d'expériences indiquent quel est le potentiel existant. A Montréal la campagne Léger a marqué une percée pour notre mouvement, établissant de nouveaux contacts et nous ouvrant de nouvelles opportunités sur une très large échelle. La campagne symbolisait l'opposition des Québécois aux lois des mesures de guerre et le vote reçu reflétait cette situation. Sur la côte sud du Nouveau Brunswick un groupe de jeunes travailleurs et d'étudiants du secondaire se sont joints à la LJS/YS à la suite de leurs expériences dans une ville possédée par une compagnie.

La tournée de Penny Simpson, membre dirigeante de la LJS et victime de la répression sous les mesures de guerre est un des indices le plus spectaculaire des possibilités qui s'offrent à nous. Sa tournée s'est avérée la tournée la mieux réussie que nous avons jamais organisée au Canada. Des réunions de plusieurs centaines d'étudiants constituaient la norme. A St-John's à Terre-Neuve, 1,500 étudiants — 25% de la totalité des étudiants de l'endroit — ont assisté à une réunion. Partout, nous sommes entrés en contact avec de nouveaux radicaux intéressés à se renseigner et à se joindre à la LJS/YS. Souvent, dans des villes où aucune organisation radicale ne s'était jamais manifesté auparavant. A Peterborough, en Ontario, par exemple, la tournée a occasionné le lancement d'un important local YS sur le campus de l'université Trent.

## **Les tâches de la LJS/YS**

La nouvelle radicalisation donne à notre mouvement des possibilités de croissance sur une échelle telle qu'il n'en a jamais précédemment connu. Réaliser ces possibilités est la tâche la plus importante de la LJS/YS dans cette période.

Ce n'est pas une tâche qui peut être retardée ou remise. De toutes les organisations radicales, nous sommes celle qui est dans la meilleure position pour organiser ces nouveaux radicaux. Nous possédons le programme qui peut satisfaire leurs besoins et nous avons l'organisation la plus grosse et la plus active au pays. Mais aucune organisation révolutionnaire ne peut se reposer sur ses lauriers. A moins que nous ne procédions maintenant à offrir à ces nouveaux radicaux le programme et l'organisation du socialisme révolutionnaire, la radicalisation pourrait être divisée ou dissipée par la bourgeoisie ou par d'autres courants de gauche.

## **L'organisation Régional**

Il n'y a pas une seule ville au pays où un local de la LJS/YS ne peut être établi. Concrètement, cela signifie se doter d'organisateurs itinérants permanents dans les régions où c'est possible et plus généralement, se préparer à intervenir très rapidement dans de nouvelles régions.

L'organisation régionale implique plus qu'un simple recrutement; elle s'implique aussi l'éducation et la consolidation de nouveaux locaux. Le rôle du leadership pan-canadien dans le développement d'une compréhension commune de notre programme et de notre organisation est particulièrement important. Il le deviendra davantage dans la prochaine période.

Dans une période de croissance, une attention particulière doit être portée à l'éducation. Les idées du Marxisme, telles que développées pendant ce dernier siècle sont les seuls guides fiables pour l'action révolutionnaire. Seule une activité éducative systématique (menée au moyen de lectures, de cours de formation, de cours internes, etc.) peut assurer que le mouvement sera équipé pour relever les plus grands défis qui nous feront face dans l'avenir. Nous visons à ce que chaque membre de la LJS/YS soit familier avec notre programme et capables de l'appliquer dans diverses situations.

Le plus grand potentiel pour le développement du socialisme révolutionnaire existe au Québec, plus particulièrement, par l'intermédiaire des écoles secondaires et des CEGEPS. *Jeune Garde* maintenant un "tabloid" bimestriel jouera un rôle clé dans ce processus. Montréal, appuyé et aidé par tout le mouvement pan-canadien doit devenir le centre d'organisation pour toute la nation québécoise.

Dans les régions où nous sommes déjà établis, nous devons déployer nos efforts à rejoindre et à organiser la jeunesse radicalisée. Le nombre de ventes du *Young Socialist*, d'activités sociales, d'activités éducatives, doit augmenter. Notre implication dans les mouvements de masse, en particulier, la défense de libertés civiles au Québec, le mouvement anti-guerre, le mouvement de libération des femmes et le mouvement contre l'américanisation de l'éducation, doit continuer à être centrale à nos activités. Notre mouvement doit refléter l'esprit créateur et dynamique de la nouvelle radicalisation: furieux, irrévérencieuse, et par dessus tout, révolutionnaire.

Nous ne construisons pas la LJS/YS simplement pour accroître le nombre des membres dans nos rangs. Nous tentons de construire un mouvement de dirigeants, capables de diriger le mouvement étudiant dans les luttes pour le socialisme dans ce pays. Notre structure organisationnelle centraliste-démocratique, impliquent une démocratie interne complète combinée à une unité d'action complète, joue un rôle vital dans ce processus.

La croissance numérique et l'extension de l'influence de la LJS/YS depuis la dernière année, n'est qu'une indication des possibilités que nous sont offertes. Notre tâche est de réaliser ce potentiel.

*(fin)*

## HIGH SCHOOL REPORT

Presented by the Central Executive Council  
YS/LJS DB June 1970 Vol.6 No. 1

There is an important and growing radicalization among Canadian high school students. This radicalization has had its most profound expression in the antiwar movement, but has also manifested itself around hundreds of local struggles that could be broadly termed "student rights". In Quebec, the major struggles have taken place around the fight to preserve the French language, which mobilized the vast majority of high school students in the upsurge in October 1969.

Attendance at high school is compulsory until the age of 16. The great majority of the students are destined to become workers. They are concentrated in the schools for their formative years, when they are taught to accept the discipline of the shop floor in the restrictive school environment. However their concentration and the reaction to the lack of democratic rights in the schools make the students easier to reach and organize. They are also very open to socialist ideas.

The purpose of this article is to report on the situation in the high schools and the role of the YS in this area. We will discuss the organizational forms that have arisen, the antiwar movement, our program for the high schools, the development of our cadre and other questions.

### MODERNIZATION OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS:

There have been a number of extensive changes made in the school system during the past period to streamline the schools to better meet the needs of neo-capitalism. The general effect of these changes has been to direct the students into specialized "streams". Some are directed towards becoming intellectual workers for capitalism, while others are destined to become blue collar workers. This division is made basically on a class basis. There are far more technical, vocational and commercial high schools in the working class districts than in the middle class areas. In Toronto, for example, 45% of the students in the city are in the five-year academic stream, while in the more affluent suburbs, 60-70% are in the five-year courses. There is a concentration of the special two-year (*technical-ed.*) schools in working class districts. The system ensures that capitalism will have workers to fill its varied needs including intellectual workers who still retain some creativity within the context of serving the system. In no way do these "reforms" signify a relinquishing of the hold of the state on the schools, but rather they signify an increasing intervention of the state to ensure sufficiently trained human labor.

Some administrations are attempting to co-opt the student radicalization through token reforms. There has been some loosening of discipline with regard to dress standards etc., but this falls far short of student demands. Political repression in the schools has not lessened in the least.

In the long run, students will come to see that the rights they have were granted because of their pressure. They will be encouraged to struggle for more rights, leaving the administration in a contradiction: if no reforms are made, the students will fight for change; if reforms are made, the students will fight for more. While we welcome these reforms insofar as *they* make the schools more tolerable and create a freer atmosphere, we must fight to expose the inability of these reforms to fundamentally change the nature of the school system.

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS:

There are practically no democratic rights in Canadian high schools. Students are subject to arbitrary discipline without appeal, they have no right to form political clubs or to organize politically in the schools, they have no rights to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press. Any struggle for democratic rights means a direct challenge to the administration. This situation is particularly severe in Quebec high schools where the slightest

political activity has led to wholesale expulsions. There are continually struggles breaking out in the schools around various demands for democratic rights. We intervene in these whenever they break out, attempting to put forward demands which lead in the direction of winning some power for the students.

Every school has a student council which oversees dances and a few other extra-curricular activities. These bodies are passed off as being democratic when in fact they have no say in how the school is run. They are a great training ground for bourgeois democracy since they are a farce. We run in student council elections to expose the true nature of these bodies and to put forward our views. We look for opportunities to unite with other radicals to pose a radical slate on a principled program. We carried campaigns for free elections in three schools in Toronto this past year and one in Vancouver. These campaigns had a great impact although no victories were won. At one school, Vaughan Road Collegiate, a comrade was able to organize a walkout of 80 students to support his candidacy.

In the Toronto suburb of North York, a new body has appeared, the Intercollegiate Student Council of North York. This body unites representatives from most of the student councils in the area. Its motto is "progress through responsibility". Nevertheless, it has opposed all the most progressive demands including the walkout against the extension of the school year, the right to form political clubs, and Vietnam assemblies during school time. While at times we make interventions in ISCNY, on the whole we see it as an attempt to co-opt the radical students and bog them down in parliamentarism instead of mass action.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS:

With the exception of the student antiwar movement, there have been no continuing independent student organizations. Any attempt to set up a permanent student rights organization is extremely difficult because of the instability of the milieu, parental pressures, pressures of schoolwork, threats of repression, and lack of experience with ideas and organization. We can expect that through continuing struggles high school students will learn the importance of defensive organizations and leadership, but the other factors will continue to make the building of such organizations on any long term basis very difficult. Ad hoc action committees for the particular struggle will probably be the basic, form of organization.

In Toronto, an attempt to set up a student rights organization has been made, the League for Student Democracy. This group has degenerated into a personality clique gravitating around one individual. It has initiated no independent actions of its own and where it has managed to elect candidates to student councils, they have generally talked left, but did not mobilize students against the administration. We feel that this group has no perspective, and that it will follow the same path as previous attempts at continuing high school rights organizations such as the Committee Against the Extension of the School Year and the High School Student Union, which had viability only around particular struggles, and then dissolved.

A common form of radical activity has been the underground newspaper. These are centered around groups of radicals in the schools, who publish and distribute their papers counter to the administration-controlled school newspapers. In many cases in the struggle against censorship of school papers, the editorial groups have turned into organizations fighting for student rights. While this is not a major area of work for us, our comrades should write articles for these papers as a vehicle for our ideas. In some schools we might even initiate a radical student newspaper.

When a struggle in a particular school arises, our comrades attempt to organize ad hoc action committees to organize mass actions of the students. Such committees should be non-exclusive and not attempt to impose a rounded political program. Rather they should concentrate on the particular issue involved and attempt to direct the struggle towards winning concrete gains which will give the students more power in the schools. The committee should be run on a mass, democratic, decision-making basis, with an elected leadership responsible and accountable to the

committee. We should strive for inter-school co-ordination where the basis for this exists.

Open socialist propaganda is a major part of our work. We regularly sell Young Socialist Forum in the schools. We can use organizations like world affairs or current affairs clubs to bring socialist speakers into the schools. We run in election campaigns as a vehicle for our ideas. If we have sufficient forces in a school, we can set up a Young Socialist Club as an organized group proclaiming our ideas.

#### CAMPAIGN FOR VIETNAM ASSEMBLIES:

The longest continuing organization in the high schools is Students Against the War in Vietnam (SAWV), which was initiated by our comrades in 1966 as a high school antiwar committee. This is a testimony to the profound radicalizing effect which Vietnam has had in the schools. SAWV has had an up and down existence, sometimes being sustained only by our comrades, but it alone has proven able to consistently mobilize high school students for the mass antiwar demonstrations. No other high school organization can claim such a record. Almost all of our high school recruits have come from antiwar work.

This year we decided to initiate a cross-country campaign for Vietnam assemblies during school time. This was the continuation of the Vietnam Teach-In campaign of 1967 in Toronto. There were two purposes for this campaign: to build the antiwar movement in the schools; and to establish the right to hold assemblies on relevant political issues. The linking of Vietnam with student rights was very important in deepening the understanding of the war and "democracy" at home. It raised the whole question of the right to organize against the war in the schools, and pointed the way for future struggles which will center more and more on the right to use the schools as an organizing base against the system.

The campaign won assemblies in five Toronto schools, five in Hamilton, two in Vancouver and in other centers. The York Board of Education

(...)they break out, attempting to put forward demands which lead in the direction of winning some power for the students.

(...) became the first Board to ever support Vietnam assemblies during school time. For the first time students were able to speak before the North York Board of Education, after the Board had used police to expel them from a previous meeting; and the Board gave lip service to the idea of assemblies. These victories are a firm foundation for extending the struggle next year and are indicative of the growing mood of radicalization which the administrations have to recognize. With the widening of the Southeast Asian war, the antiwar struggle remains our major area of work in the high schools.

#### WOMEN'S LIBERATION:

We have found high school women very receptive to the ideas of women's liberation. They are subject to blatant oppression from their health courses which teach them how to be "date bait" to the streaming of women out of science and mathematics, to the fear of unwanted pregnancy and lack of birth control information. High school women are younger and less brain-washed and thus have less prejudice to overcome when they turn to the women's liberation movement.

In York Memorial Collegiate in Toronto, a group of high school women, under the impetus of our movement, have formed a women's liberation group in their school, an unprecedented action in all of Canada. They held a meeting near the school which attracted close to 200 students, at which one of our comrades spoke. From this meeting they carried a struggle to be recognized as an official school club and won. They circulated petitions, which were signed by a majority of the students to win their demands. The problem now posed before this group is what further actions it can carry and how it can extend into more schools. A broad meeting oriented to high school women has helped take the movement forward. We must do

everything we can to promote this type of development.

#### TEACHER-STUDENT UNITY:

The past year has seen the development of teachers' struggles across the country for higher wages and better working conditions. In a number of areas, teachers have resorted to work-to-rule and threats of mass resignation. Teachers do not belong to a union but an "association". They do not yet have the right to strike. In Ottawa, Winnipeg and Sudbury, in response to slowdowns and the breakdown in negotiations, students have gone on strike, closing the schools and marching on the local Boards of Education to demand that the Board negotiate with the teachers. While these actions have generally supported the teachers, there has been some feeling that teachers are hurting the students by not settling with the Boards. However, they are an important precedent, offering students a great opportunity to bridge the gap between students and teachers promoted by the administration. Unity of teachers and students around common demands would be a powerful combination. The growing radicalization of teachers, many of whom were radicalized in high school and university, makes this increasingly possible. The YS must do everything it can to promote this process, setting up student committees to support the teachers wherever possible.

#### MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS:

During the fall of 1969, the YS ran eight candidates for Board of Education in the Toronto municipal elections. This campaign aimed at popularizing our transitional and democratic program for the high schools. Through it we managed to reach wide layers of students and to draw new contacts around us. The program we put forward follows:

**"For democracy in the schools** – Student-staff control of schools. Right to form student clubs freely. Right to vote at 18. Right to criticize the administration without fear of reprisals. For an un-censored student press. End arbitrary regulations on hair, clothing styles, etc. Student control of discipline. Right of any student to run for student council and to use school facilities to present his or her program.

**"Stop the war in Vietnam** - Bring the truth about U.S. aggression and Canadian complicity in Vietnam into the schools. Hold Vietnam teach-ins in every school, and give students the facilities to organize to express their views.

**"End discrimination against the working people** - First-rate facilities and instruction in working class districts. End automatic streaming of working class youth into job-training programs. Teach the truth about labor history, and working people's struggles for a better society.

**"For women's libération** - End the streaming of young women away from math and sciences and into areas that society says are reserved for women. Teach the truth about the role of women in history. Sex education at the public school level. Free birth control information and devices.

**"For a free university** - Free education at all levels. Living allowance for all students 16 and over. Kick big business off the boards of the universities. Student-faculty-non-teaching-staff control. Universities to serve the working people.

**"Education for tomorrow** -- End religious discrimination by abolishing all religious exercises. No public funds for separate schools. Full rights for teachers to bargain collectively over salaries, fringe benefits, and working conditions. Extension of the school system to include free

daycare centers for all pre-school children."

A demand that was raised in the elections by reformist elements found some support among high school students -- that of community councils of teachers, students and community people to run each individual school. We opposed this demand because it diverted attention from where the real power lies. We demanded labor to power in city hall and on the Boards of Education, and student-teacher control of the schools. Community councils would be powerless because they would be established on a regional basis, and would have no control over funds. There is no class content to this demand because it treats rich communities on the same level as working class communities. The community council at Toronto's Bathurst Heights Collegiate illustrates the bankruptcy of this idea. The council is life-less, students are outnumbered on it, and it has merely an advisory capacity. For these reasons, we are opposed to the community council concept as dangerous attempt to derail the radical elements.

#### BUILDING HIGH SCHOOL CADRE:

Because of its organizational seriousness and program, the YS is the only organized tendency that has been able to imbed itself in the high school milieu and do consistent work. But there are a great many problems in building our high school cadre. High school fractions have always been hard to hold together, and the high school area has seen our greatest turnover in comrades. This is to be expected because of the great pressure on these comrades and their lack of political experience.

Our most serious opponents in the schools are the advocates of dropping out and changing your head instead of society. There is also pressure from ultraleft and opportunist trends, although there are no such organizational forms in the schools. In addition, there is always the threat of the administration taking repressive measures against comrades for their political activity. High school comrades also face pressure from parents, often of a monetary nature.

We educate our comrades to grasp the ideas of the movement and to have a proper perspective of the struggles we are undertaking. We urge them to stay in school to continue the struggle and to get good grades so that the administration cannot have any non-political reason for victimizing them. We encourage them to come to terms with their parents until such time as they can support themselves. We teach them to rely on the movement to defend them against any victimization.

Our correct political approach enables our comrades to carry struggles for democratic rights without unnecessarily exposing themselves to attack. We pose our demands defensively so that we can win the widest support among students and the population at large, and so that the administration can have no pretext for expelling us and other activists from school. We are careful to explain how the administration violates basic democratic rights and that we are fighting for rights which are generally guaranteed to the average person under bourgeois democracy. We make sure that all struggles are publicized so that the activists do not become isolated. Administrations are very nervous about publicity which exposes the true nature of the schools.

#### CONCLUSIONS:

While there has been a steady broadening of the radicalization among Canadian high school students, there has been no stabilisation of high school organizations. The antiwar movement, our major area of work, has been the only continuing movement in the schools, although at times it has been sustained by our comrades alone. The YS/LJS is the only political tendency which has done consistent work and has sunk firm roots in this area. We can expect

that the next period will bring big explosions, upsurges and temporary declines as well, but that the direction will generally be upward. With our program and with our emerging high school cadre, we are confident of our ability to meet this challenge and give it political direction.

*(end)*

# RED POWER IN CANADA

*(From Labor Challenge, February 1970)*

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By Dick Fidler

## **The Condition of the Indians**

*By way of an introduction*

Canada's native Indian\* population numbers around 500,000 — about half of them (237,490 in 1968) living on more than 2,000 reserves, and the remainder outside direct federal government jurisdiction and the provisions of the Indian Act. In addition, there are 350,000 mixed-blood Metis. The total Indian population in the United States is roughly similar, a little more than half a million, with an additional several hundred thousand Indians out on their own, more or less assimilated. Thus, Canada's Indian population is nearly ten times greater than the American as a percentage of total population.

The vast majority of native Indian people suffer incredible, soul-breaking poverty. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay study, published in 1967, found that of a sample survey of over 22,000 families in Indian communities across Canada, 74 percent made less than \$2,000 in 1964; 47 percent made less than \$1,000 a year. (Remember, those are family incomes.) Over half the Indian population is chronically unemployed: the survey reported that 61 percent of the workers held jobs less than 6 months per year; 23.6 percent for less than two months. The Indian unemployment rate is 10 times the national average.

As a result, more than one-third of the households in the Hawthorn-Tremblay survey depended for their livelihood on meager welfare grants from the Indian Affairs Branch — and this figure doesn't account for the large number of bands providing their own welfare funds. The federal government allots about 25 percent of its Indian affairs budget to welfare payments, as against the 10 percent it devotes to "economic development" on the reserves.

Most government services are either non-existent or of scandalously poor quality. Total spending of the Indian Affairs Branch averages out to \$530 per treaty Indian, a year (1967); whereas the federal government spends \$740 a year on the average non-Indian Canadian, not to speak of the provincial and municipal government services (e.g. education, health, agriculture, roads, etc.) which our quarter-million treaty Indians do not have access to.

Nine out of 10 Indian homes on reserves have no indoor toilets; barely half have electricity; nearly 60 percent live in houses of three rooms or less. It is estimated that more than 30 percent of the inmates in Canada's jails and training schools (*'reform' schools* — *ed.* are Indian, although Indians account for less than three percent of the total population. The number of Indians in federal penitentiaries has increased five-fold since 1950 to more than 2500.

While the average Canadian can expect to live to the age of 62, the Indians' life expectancy is only 33 for men, 34 for women. The mortality rate among Indians increased by eight percent between 1965 and 1968 alone. The mortality rate among Indian pre-school children is eight times the national average! Indians are the fastest growing ethnic group in Canada, with an annual population increase of five percent. Half the Indian population is under the age of 16, close to twice the proportion among non-Indians.

This phenomenal population increase, combined with rapidly declining job opportunities for Indian workers – half of whom are engaged in relatively traditional and marginal economic activities like fishing, trapping, hunting, and agriculture – means a tremendous pressure on the Indians to leave the reserves and head for the cities in search of work.

In Manitoba; for example, about half of the province's 80,000 Indians and 30,000 Métis are now subsisting in substandard conditions; in Winnipeg, 10,000 have migrated to the city during the last 10 years, most of them in the last three years. But in the cities, the employment prospect is scarcely better than on the reserves. Only three percent of Winnipeg's inhabitants, the Indians and Metis, account for 12 percent of its welfare cases.

*(\*Note from the Web Ed.: This article starts out using the term "Native Indian", anticipating the dropping of the term "Indian" in favor of "Native" after this pamphlet was published, as well as the adoption of the general term "First Nations").*

## **RED POWER IN CANADA**

### ***The Developing Movement***

Indians in Quebec recently reminded the provincial government that it had failed to sign treaties with them for all of northern Quebec, and that the time had come for a settlement. They claim 85 percent of the province's territory, and have put a price tag of \$5 billion on it.

Mohawk Indians from the St. Regis reservation near Cornwall, Ont. Recently sat in to block the U.S.-Canadian border crossing. They demanded that the Canadian government recognize the Jay Treaty, signed in the late 18th century between Britain and the United States, which gave Indians the right as sovereign peoples to transport goods across the border free of duty.

The leaders of the 9,000 Indians in the Six Nations Confederacy at Brantford, Ont. have petitioned the United Nations in support of their claim that the Confederacy is a sovereign state, and suggested that Ottawa begin paying rent — including back rent — for its use of land guaranteed to the Indians by treaty with the British crown and never

formally revoked. An adequate settlement, they say, might be in the neighborhood of \$2 billion.

In Saskatchewan, the Native Action Committee, which seeks local control of government in Métis and Indian communities, ran an independent Red Power candidate, 23-year-old Carole Lavallee in Meadow Lake constituency in the 1968 federal election.

U.S. Sioux leader Vine Deloria, Jr., in a speech in Montreal this month, called for a "mutual defense pact between U.S. and Canadian Indians against the white man."

The ideas and tactics of the Red Power movement are inspired in part by the developing movements of oppressed peoples around the world — and in particular the Vietnamese, the U.S. Blacks and the Québécois. But its roots are to be found in the terribly exploited and oppressed conditions of the Native people right here in Canada, and the growing determination of these half-million original inhabitants of this continent, nearly crushed by literally centuries of colonization, degradation and white "civilization's" attempts to destroy them, to resist the cultural genocide which is staring them in the face. It is these "New Indians" — led by articulate, militant young spokesmen like Harold Cardinal, an Alberta Cree — who are opening up a new, inspiring, and revolutionary chapter in Indian history.

Cardinal's book, *The Unjust Society*, has received attention because it is the most detailed presentation yet published of the Indian side of the story and because it is an eloquent, damning and comprehensive indictment of the Trudeau government's new Indian policy.

That policy was expressed in a "white paper" released by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien last June, which projected phasing out the Indian Affairs department over the next five years, thereby leaving Canada's quarter-million treaty Indians presently covered by federal services at the mercy of the provinces, many of which do not provide such services.

Harold Cardinal and other Indian spokesmen — who have unanimously condemned the plan — describe it as a blueprint for cultural genocide. They are not exaggerating. It is difficult to imagine any other motivation behind the white paper's proposals than the complete destruction of the Indians as a people. The white paper's starting point is a complete dismissal of the treaties which have been the formal basis of relations between half the Indian population and the government for well over half a century. Trudeau brushed the treaties aside as an "anomaly" not to be tolerated in the Just Society. "It is inconceivable," he said, "that one section of a society should have a treaty with another section of a society..." They should become Canadians as all other Canadians."

But for the Indians, the treaties are the means by which the whites legitimatized in the eyes of the world their presence in the Indians' country. They were negotiated between sovereign peoples, and have great symbolic importance to the Indians. The Indians have never denied that the written terms of the treaties are often misleading;

verbal promises (and there were no doubt many on the part of the crafty whites) are omitted; "they carry key phrases that are not precise;" "they state that certain things were ceded that, in actual fact, were never considered so granted by the Indians who signed the treaties." (Cardinal)

===== (box)

### ***On self-determination***

"....Most Indians firmly believe their identity is tied up with treaty and aboriginal rights. No genuine Indian participation in the white world can be expected until the Indian is accepted by himself and by the non-Indian as an Indian person, with an Indian identity."

(from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal)

===== (end box)

But many treaties did make wide-ranging promises which, if interpreted in the light of present-day needs and the Indians' understanding when they were signed, would encompass a vast expansion in government services and the economic status of the Indian people. These include full protection of hunting, trapping and fishing rights, the right of education (while free, it is of such abysmal quality and so unrelated to the cultural traditions and needs of Indians that only 200 Indian youth go to university each year,) provision for full medical services (a reference to the government's duty to provide a medicine chest could, Indians justly argue, be interpreted today to mean free comprehensive medicare) and protection of the Indians' land and encouragement of their future economic development on the reserves.

The government, of course, has instead chosen to give the treaties the narrowest possible interpretation, holding the Indians to the strict letter of their written terms, and wherever there is doubt, unilaterally and arbitrarily deciding in the interests of the white capitalist system.

An example is mineral rights, where Indians whose ancestors thought they were surrendering surface rights only, have been deprived in many instances of rich royalties from new subsurface mineral finds under their lands, while the giant oil and mining monopolies reap huge profits and the white man's government rakes in the taxes.

But the legal documentation that really governs the Indian fate today is not the treaties, which the government considers irrelevant, but the Indian Act as it has developed this century, an Act which once and for all legalized the colonial-like subordination of the Indians to the federal rule. For example, it gives the Minister of Indian Affairs the sole discretionary power to authorize the use of reserve land for schools, hospitals and other projects and to disallow any bylaws enacted by the band; it places the finances of the reserves almost exclusively under the control of the Department and provides the Indians with no protection against laws enacted by the Federal government.

The Act is the legal foundation for the huge bureaucratic apparatus that has grown up to maintain the Indians in a primitive state of abject dependency on the federal

government. This bureaucracy is huge, and incredibly inefficient — for example, by 1967, department spending averaged out to \$3,180 a year for a family of six, but the average income of Indian families across Canada was only half that amount.

What have the Indians received in return?

A glance at the conditions listed elsewhere on this page gives some idea.

But worse even than the physical poverty, terrible as that is, is the complete denial of the Indians' most precious asset — their self-identity as Indians — by the Ottawa mandarins and their patronizing local agents. Even the **legal** definition of an Indian is up for grabs, thanks to the government's cynical distinction between legal and non-legal Indians. A treaty or "registered" (legal) Indian can enfranchise, thereby getting citizenship, the vote, liquor, but he loses his treaty or aboriginal rights, his right to share in the reserve's communal lands — in short, the one thing that above all defines him as an Indian.

The purely arbitrary, even cruel implications of this distinction reveal just how clearly it is designed to frustrate Indian self-definition and cultural identity. To cite only one example: If an Indian woman marries a non-Indian, she automatically forfeits her claim to be an Indian. But; if a non-Indian woman marries a treaty or registered Indian, she becomes a legal Indian, regardless of her color (although her children will not necessarily be Indians — a further complication.)

The constant humiliation of the Indian, designed to make him ashamed of his origins, his culture, language, and history, of course is particularly blatant in the educational system and is eloquently documented by Harold Cardinal from his bitter personal experience.

Even the narrowest provisions of the treaties have been violated continually by the government. The courts have overruled longstanding exemptions of Indians from white men's laws restricting hunting, fishing and international customs duties. Treaty promises by the white conquerors to encourage economic development of Indian lands have been entirely ignored.

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***On the Trudeau government's "White Paper"*** — . . . a program which offers nothing better than cultural genocide . . . extermination through assimilation." "In attempting to remove all constitutional protection for Indians, the government is attempting to eliminate unilaterally, once and for all, its obligations under the treaties as understood by Indians."

(from *The Unjust Society* by Harold Cardinal)

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And thus the Indian people find themselves confined in a deepening vicious circle of poverty, unemployment and welfare payments. Forced by an expanding birth rate and

declining economic perspectives on the reserves to emigrate to the cities, they form there a growing sub-proletariat, more or less permanently unemployed, or grossly underpaid, totally unaccepted by white society,

The consistently high rate of unemployment among the Indians — about one- third of the total number of those listed as looking for work in Canada — is shocking evidence of how totally unable capitalism is to absorb this "reserve army of labor" into its economic structures.

But white capitalist society's rejection of the Indian is no less equaled by the Indian's rejection of all the attempts of the system to smash his identity. Today, it is precisely those young Indians who have been most subjected to the influences of the white world — its cities, its educational system, its culture — who are moving out in the vanguard of the struggles to organize their people. And the developing spirit of militancy is strongest among those Indians who have managed to some small degree to move in the white man's world, without giving up their sense of identity as Indians: the high steel workers of Caughnawaga, Quebec, the industrial workers of Brantford, the farmers and reserve ranchers of Alberta.

These "new Indians" are the front line soldiers in the growing battle by Indians to determine their own future.

"The work of creating stable and representative organizations has been one of the most difficult challenges faced by our people," writes Harold Cardinal. He relates how the government attempted to bar every step of the way, provoking and exploiting differences between treaty and non-treaty Indians, preventing use of band council monies for organizing efforts, creating its own organizations dominated by "good" (pro-government) Indians (Uncle Tomahawks), pumping funds into white dominated groups, even trying to co-opt the developing leadership through establishment of its own "community development" programs (which are quickly dropped whenever the Indians show any inclination to use them.) But a major breakthrough occurred in July of last year, when the National Indian Brotherhood was founded, the first such representative body controlled by Indians for Indians

The NIB is now drafting its counter-Indian Act, based on the principle of self-determination, for the Native people, which it will present to Ottawa sometime this year.

===== (box)

#### ***Indian Control of the Indian Communities***

The following is the program of the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP – the West Coast Native organization established two years ago. It was published in the third issue of the NARP Newsletter Jan.-Feb.1969. It presents a succinct summary of the main demands of the growing Red Power movement, in the words of the Indian people themselves.

1. We will not be free until we are able to **determine our own destiny**. Therefore we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities. **Gaining power in our reservations and communities** and power over our lives will entail the abolishment of the 'Indian Act,' and the **destruction of the colonial office** (Indian Affairs Branch)  
*(Web Ed. note: emphasis throughout this box in the original).*
  2. This racist government has robbed, cheated and brutalized us and is responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of our people. We feel under no obligation to support this government in the form of **taxation**. Therefore we want an end to the collection of money from us in the form of taxes.
  3. The history of Canada was written by the oppressors, the invaders of this land. Their lies are perpetrated in the **educational system** of today. By failing to expose the true history of this decadent Canadian society the schools facilitate our continued oppression. Therefore, we want an education that teaches us our true history and exposes the racist values of this society.
  4. In this country, Indian and Metis represent three percent of the population, yet we constitute approximately 60 percent of the inmates in prisons and jails. Therefore, we want an immediate end to the unjust arrests and harassment of our people by the racist police.
  5. When brought before the **courts** of this country, the redman cannot want natives to be tried by a jury of people chosen from native communities or people of their racial heritage. Also, we want freedom for those of our brothers and sisters now being unjustly held in the prisons of this country.
  6. The **treaties** pertaining to fishing, hunting, trapping and property rights and special privileges have been broken by this government. In some cases, our people did not engage in treaties with the government and have not been compensated for their loss of land. Therefore, for those of our people we want fair **compensation**. Also, we want the government to honor the statutes, as laid down in these treaties, as being supreme and not to be infringed upon by any legislation whatsoever.
  7. The large industrial companies and corporations that have raped the natural resources of this country are responsible, along with their government, for the extermination of the resources upon which we depend for food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we want an immediate end to this exploitation, and compensation from these thieves. We want the government to give **foreign aid** to the areas comprising the Indian Nation, so that we can start desperately needed programs concerning housing, agricultural and industrial cooperatives. **We want to develop our remaining resources in the interests of the redman, not in the interests of the white corporate elite.**

8. The white power structure has used every possible method to destroy our spirit, and the will to resist. They have divided us into status and non-status, American and Canadian, Métis and Indian. We are fully aware of their "divide and rule" tactic, and its effect on our people.

RED POWER IS THE SPIRIT TO RESIST.  
RED POWER IS PRIDE IN WHAT WE ARE.  
RED POWER IS LOVE FOR OUR PEOPLE.  
RED POWER IS OUR COMING TOGETHER TO FIGHT FOR LIBERATION.  
RED POWER IS NOW!

===== End Box

### **Toward Nationhood**

What does the future hold for Canada's half-million Indians? This question — usually ignored by the countless articles and books now appearing on the "Indian question," most of which don't go much beyond moralizing on the terrible poverty of the Native people — strikes at the root of the Indians' dilemma. Can the Indians, descendants of a Stone Age people uprooted and almost exterminated by the capitalist colonization of North America, ever find acceptance as equals with whites in a modern industrial society? And if so, how?

The prevailing view among Canada's white ruling circles is clear: the Indians must assimilate. They must, as Prime Minister Trudeau put it recently, "become Canadians as all other Canadians." His government's aptly named "white paper" which projects the outright abolition of Indian treaty rights within five years spells this out in more detail. At the same time, this society every day reveals how unwilling and unable it is to "assimilate" the Indians. Even when destroyed as a people, they are completely rejected as individuals, the unemployed, underpaid victims of racism.

The essence of the white paper is the proposal to remove Indian lands from the protection against alienation now contained in the Indian Act provisions. Not only does this close the door to attempts to encourage economic development of the reserves, it is the prelude to a massive land grab of these six million acres, much of it choice land near the cities, by real estate speculators and industrial consortiums.

South of the border, where Indians lost 90 million of their 140 million acres through local land grabs following the Allotment Act of 1887 (which was supposed to give them land), and still more during the "Termination policy" of the 1950s and early '60s, they are less hypocritical about it now. A headline on the cover of a recent issue of the *National Review* cynically states the extreme right-wing position:

"Did the United States destroy the Indians? No, but it should have."

A growing number of Indians – and **all** Indian leaders - reject out of hand this fatalistic perspective. Self-help and self-definition, expressed in the remarkable revival of interest among young Indians in their tribal origins, languages, customs, history, even religious traditions — in short, whatever distinguishes them **as Indians** from the dominant, exploiting racist white capitalist culture - are the keystones of the growing movement for Red Power. Every demand, every struggle of the Indians to assert their rights, refutes the lying image of the lazy, shiftless Indian inculcated in our children — white **and** Indian — by this racist society, beginning with John Wayne's exploits on TV's late, late show.

*(Web Ed. note: emphases throughout in the original)*

The basic program being developed by the new Indian leadership is summarized in the demands of the Native Alliance Red Power, reprinted here (*see box –ed.*) It is a program with revolutionary implications because it poses a direct challenge to the natural drive of capitalist society to suppress, absorb or cast aside every national minority or nationality within it's borders.

But the Canadian left is by no means unanimous in its appreciation of this dynamic of the Red Power movement. For example, at the recent founding conference of the Ontario NDP left wing, the "Waffle" group, some participants argued against singling out Indians and Franco Ontarians as significant "minorities" worth including along with women students, tenants unions, etc., as powerful potential allies of the organized working class in the struggle for socialism. Surely the vastly more numerous Italian-Canadians and other immigrant groups are "minorities" with greater potential influence, they objected.

Forgotten here was a vital distinction between **ethnic** minorities like the immigrants who generally have a clearly assimilationist orientation toward the Anglo-Saxon cultural majority in English Canada insofar as it has been able to absorb them, and relatively oppressed national minorities like the French and Indians who are defining themselves in **opposition** to this society's cultural and other values.

But, some socialists might object, surely you are not saying that the Indians constitute a "nation"? Don't they lack the normal attributes of a nation as it is commonly understood? They have no common territory, no common language, no distinct viable economic life, and their cultural and historical traditions, while picturesque, have little relevance to a complex industrial society. Or so the argument goes. . .

Regardless of this or that formal criterion, the key question is how the Indians see themselves — their collective consciousness. In this sense, the Indians are evolving, from a race to a nationality.... to a nation, in much the same way that the Black people or the Chicanos (*A recent Spanish-speaking immigrant population concentrated in the U.S. Southwest of mainly Mexican origin –Web Ed.*) in the United States may be said to constitute a nation, a nation without territory. Moreover, the Indians can be said to possess to some degree **all** of the formal criteria of a nation, too, beginning with a territory. It is precisely their deep attachment to their lands that has enabled the Indians to resist destruction so far. These lands, recognized by treaty, include 2,000 reserves on six

million acres across Canada. Much of this land is marginal, undeveloped, largely uncultivable, and useful mainly for the traditional pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing.

But much of it is very valuable. In British Columbia, a multi-million dollar shopping center stands on land leased from the Squamish band of West and North Vancouver, while in Kamloops, Indians hired a firm of business consultants to draw up a plan for developing their 32,800 acre reserve, and created their own industrial estate.

The shocking fact about the Indians' reserve lands is that no one has ever done a comprehensive survey of their economic viability — least of all the government, which is concerned mainly with dispersing the Indians out of the reserves. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay report, the most exhaustive study of Canada's Indians so far, concluded only that an economic survey was necessary, while maintaining that development of the reserves and Indian communities is "distinctly secondary" to massive efforts" to move Indians off the reserves and into the cities. Even available funds for development have not been disbursed; last year the staff of the Ontario government's Indian Development Branch quit because, out of the million dollars the province had earmarked for Indian projects, only a fraction had been spent and many self-help projects had been refused financial aid by the government. Of the federal Indian Affairs Department's \$62 million budget in a recent year, only \$1.5 million was spent on economic development. Because title to the reserves is vested in the government, the Indians cannot arrange bank loans in their own name; but Indians charge that the government fails to back loans for industrial and commercial development of the reserves. An unidentified former top official of the Branch was quoted in the *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 21, 1967:

"As a rule the economic development programs that the Branch supports are the marginal, low-profit enterprises like fresh-water fish cooperatives. They're useful, but it was my experience that whenever anyone proposed that the Indians themselves run some larger enterprise — such as building their own resort community instead of leasing to a developer, or organizing a company to exploit their own oil and gas resources — the idea was dismissed, because of fear that established companies would put on pressures against so-called unfair competition from the Indians, backed by the government.

"Indian band capital funds totaling \$30 million are on deposit in Ottawa. Oil and gas alone on Indian reserves is estimated to total \$2 billion.

"How is it that such rich people are so poor? Why can't Crown corporations or commercial corporations be set up, primarily under Indian control but with expert outside help, to exploit these resources? Why can't the Indians hire their own management talent?"

The official is merely echoing a key demand raised by Red Power militants — for economic development of the reserves by the Indians themselves, or "foreign aid" as they

put it. Harold Cardinal says: "What the Indian wants is really quite simple. He wants the chance to develop the resources available to him on his own homeland, the reserve. . . . (This) includes financial assistance. . . . training in the precise skills he will need to develop the resources. . . . access to expert advice and counsel. . . . Indian involvement. Our people want the right to set their own goals, determine their own priorities, create and stimulate their own opportunities and development."

What this means is that, in effect, the Indians do indeed possess a major attribute of most nations, their own territory, much of it bordering established industrial areas of the country. And most important, an increasing number of Indians see their future as a people linked with the fate of these reserves. Despite the massive migration in recent years into the cities and the terrible poverty of the reserves, very few treaty Indians — only 600 a year — voluntarily opt out of legal Indian status. And 500 of these are women who, by a blatantly discriminatory provision of the Indian Act, automatically lose treaty status when they marry outsiders.

*(end of this version)*



RCMP surveillance of women's organizations like the Voice of Women anti-nuclear protest predicated the targeting of the women's liberation movement. Duncan Cameron, Library and Archives of Canada, PA-209888.

(late 50s or early 60s -ed.)

Memorandum for File

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Women's Liberation Groups  
National Conference - Winnipeg, Manitoba  
March 18 - 20, 1972 - Canada

This conference was inspired and organized by the Canadian Trotskyist Movement through their Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition (Trotskyist front), which are located in most major cities across Canada. The main purpose of this conference was an attempt by the Trotskyists to unite women's liberation groups across Canada into a national coalition.

2. This conference was attended by approximately 225-250 women representing most Provinces and including one representative from Mexico and another from the United States.

3. This conference was successful in establishing a coalition known as the "Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal Abortion Laws". The coalition will be centered in Toronto and operate under the direction of Executive Secretary Lorna GRANT [REDACTED] (Trotskyist), who is also co-ordinator of Ontario Women's Abortion Law Repeal Coalition.

4. The following four proposals were approved at this conference to serve as a basis of the Coalition:

1. All Sections of the Criminal Code dealing with abortion be repealed.
2. Support for the right of all to have early sex education in Elementary and Secondary schools, a ready access to birth control and contraceptive information and devices.
3. Opposition to forced sterilization and an attempt to link the question of abortion to the population control.
4. The right of every woman to choose whether or not she wants to bear children, in order that every mother can be a willing mother and every child a wanted child.

5. The following were also proposed at this conference:

1. The National Coalition will sponsor a week of local activity for abortion law repeal May 1-6, 1972 known as the "Abortion Petition Action Week". The purpose is to focus around petitioning with educational activities and the gathering of at least 75,000 signatures from

000022

The first page of an RCMP security service memorandum, marked "confidential," declaring that a national women's liberation conference held in Winnipeg, 1972, is Trotskyist inspired and organized. Library and Archives Canada, RG 146, access request A-2010-00315, Women's Liberation Groups: National Conference, 1972, at Winnipeg, MB, 22.



Promoting the Canadian Women's Movement Archives at a display table, International Women's Day, Ryerson University, Toronto, 1990. University of Ottawa Archives and Special Collections, 10-001-S3-10319, CWMA Collection, courtesy of the photographer, Ruth Roach Pierson.

# 1970-The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

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## The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party

### Introduction

The following document was written in 1970 by Ross Dowson and entitled at the time Our Orientation to the NDP – as a strategy - and its tactical application. It both projects an orientation and at the same time outlines the history of its development and application over some three decades of experience both in the NDP, and in its precursor the CCF, by the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

At the time of writing it was the unanimously agreed upon viewpoint of the Canadian Trotskyists. It was presented in the name of the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and adopted without dissent by its 1970 convention. It was not put to a formal vote solely for reason of the fact that, while it stood on the diverse work of the past and pulled it all together, it also contained considerable interpretation of history with which the quite youthful delegates could not be familiar.

In the next few years, with the ebb of the youth radicalization and its backlash on the LSA/LSO, which had as yet few substantial roots in the working class and which this orientation was designed to overcome, the LSA/LSO was shoved off its base and suffered a series of splits which in turn led to more splits. Thus today we are witness to a substantial growth in the number of persons who call themselves Trotskyists but at the same time a continued process of organizational fragmentation.

As testimony to its living significance, the document that follows becomes one of, if not the chief centre of contention as ultra-left pressures hit the Trotskyist movement, splintering almost the entire leadership that it had pulled together. Of all the various groups it is the Socialist League that has continued to stand on this document. We publish it not only because of its timeliness but in anticipation that it will help overcome the present fragmentation and place a united Trotskyist movement back on

the correct path, making it the decisive factor in the continuing radicalization which is now down deep into the union movement and its political expression, the NDP.

by Ross Dowson – Toronto, ON Canada – May 1976

*(Ed. Note : Possibly the date 1963 on page 17 under the subhead « Liquidationism » is in error and should read 1953, as is confirmed by the subsequent dates 1954 on page 18 and 1955 on page 20.)*

## **The Socialist Vanguard and the New Democratic Party**

The revolution that is coming — that will place the working women and men of this country in full command over its vast resources, that will link it to the worldwide struggles of the working class, and lay down the foundations of the new socialist order of peace and freedom — requires a party as its organizer and director.

That party must be built along the lines of a revolutionary vanguard. Not an elitist formation of self-appointed saviors, but a party of working women and men completely dedicated to the struggle of the workers, a party of leaders of the class — a combat party armed with a revolutionary program.

No other type of party will do. History has already recorded that without such a party the revolution in an advanced capitalist country such as Canada is an idle dream.

### **From words to deeds**

But to proclaim the need for such a party — to repeat it endlessly as some do — and to actually move effectively in the direction of building such a party are two totally different things.

Those forces that have already grasped the essential outlines of this idea are confronted with a working class movement which has already taken on a structured form. These forms have a tremendous resilience because, however inadequate, they now serve the class interests — even when they no longer do so they remain a force because of the class's historic memory of when they did.

Ever since the end of World War II the most wide-spread and profound political experience of the class has been the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and its continuator, the New Democratic Party.

For some years now the Canadian workers have been organized as a class in trade unions. The war years saw the workers in basic industry unionized and today the ranks of organized labor stand over 2 million strong.

From combating individual capitalists or alliances of capitalists over immediate economic issues such as hours, wages, and conditions, the workers have been compelled to move out onto the political arena as an independent class force against the capitalists organized as a class and through their political parties in control of the state apparatus.

The CCF, from the period 1943-48 on and now the NDP from the day of its founding in 1961, is the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It is the form that the labor party has taken in English-speaking Canada.

In Quebec, the CCF-NDP has not developed strong organic links with the trade union movement or gained a mass base among working class militants. It would appear for the whole next period at least that the nationalist upsurge has passed it by.

However, even here, to this day, the CCF-NDP has been the only political structure to pose across Quebec, however embryonically, the question of independent working class political action.

### **The NDP is a reformist party**

The NDP is a reformist party — not a revolutionary party. While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose. It is encrusted with a leadership and a program permeated with the concepts of class peace and class collaboration, although, at the critical juncture of its formation in 1961 and for a short period after, it was what Leon Trotsky described in 1938 to us Americans as "not a party but an amorphous political mass movement" with a revolutionary dynamic. It is nationalist, identifying the fate of the Canadian working class with the fate of the central bourgeois state — and not internationalist. Its leadership has made parliamentarianism not a tactic in the struggle but the supreme principle through which change alone can come.

This party has been characterized at various times as the primary expression of the politics of the working class, as expressing the present level of consciousness of the workers, or as being in advance of the level of consciousness of the working class as a whole.

In this period of extreme national and international crises, when class antagonisms recurrently take on the most explosive character — how can one estimate with any degree of accuracy, even over a very limited period of time, where the working class is at, at what stage is its consciousness, and how firm is its adherence to various structures and to various forms of struggle.

To be sure, there are hundreds of thousands of working class men and women who do not think in terms of politics at all or continue to support one or another party of the capitalist class. They have yet to take the simplest act of a working class political character by voting NDP. There are tens of thousands of workers who have over the past years formed a firm commitment to the NDP and its leadership and will not be easily shaken from it, and to be sure there are many workers both inside and outside of the NDP who are to the left of it, who have already some understanding of the inadequacy of its program and an even clearer idea of the opportunist and class collaborationist character of its leadership. But insofar as the revolutionary socialists have been able to confront them, there are few in number who are yet prepared to move out and beyond the NDP.

Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against; stands both on the way and athwart the way to the building of the revolutionary vanguard. For the class as a whole over the entire past period it represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period.

### **Touchstone of class politics**

The NDP cannot be ignored and it cannot be bypassed. It is the touchstone of class politics. All working class politics revolve around it and an incorrect position on it is fatal. It is not yet its association and support for the criminal record of the Soviet bureaucracy that is the albatross around the neck of the Communist Party of Canada so much as its known record of opposition to the CCF and the NDP, to independent working class political action. The CP's opposition to the NDP has not remained in their class collaborationist theories expressed in convention but has been exposed to workers by its consistent running of blocks of candidates against the NDP and in particular against the most left candidates.

The position of the Canadian Trotskyists vis-à-vis the CCF from the time that it could be said to

have become the Canadian labor party is expressed organizationally in the formation of the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1946 — an attempt to pull the necessary cadre together for a future entry; the dissolution of its public face and the entry of our forces as a disciplined democratic centralist revolutionary socialist formation into the CCF in 1952; the formation of the Toronto Socialist Educational League in 1955 (and later the Vancouver Socialist Information Centre) at a time when the CCF was static and there were new possibilities of cadre building through regroupment of diverse socialist forces; and the formation of the League for Socialist Action in 1961 to intervene in the birth processes of the New Democratic Party.

The orientation to the CCF-NDP has been the fundamental orientation of Canadian Trotskyism since World War II. In general our position in relation to the CCF-NDP labor party formation has been one of unconditional support and, but for the period of entry from 1952 to 1956, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective.

We say unconditional in the sense that our defense of the USSR is unconditioned — that we lay down no terms or conditions to the Soviet regime to warrant our defense of the USSR itself. We defend the USSR as a workers state — should a series of transformations take place as to qualitatively alter its class character we would cease to defend it. But suppose the NDP violates some of the most basic interests of the working class. The Labour Party of Great Britain through Wilson completely underwrote the U.S. genocidal war against the people of Vietnam and imposed a wage freeze on the British unions. This caused some to reject electoral support of the Labour Party and even to cease to characterize it as the labor Party — the mass political expression of the British working Class — but to define it as a bourgeois party.

It is not at all excluded that the NDP could move to such positions. We would not support such positions. But at what point would we say that we no longer support the party — at what point is it no longer the labor party? Only when it ceases to represent in the eyes of the class the alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie. In our opinion the betrayals of the British Labor Party leadership have not had such an impact as to result in a qualitative change in the party's relation to the class.

On another occasion we commented this way: the NDP not only betrays the basic principles of socialism, which it does not even claim to ascribe to, but even from time to time the most elementary interests of the workers. But it has not betrayed the level of consciousness of any substantial and viable layer of the working class.

## **Opposition to orientation**

Our CCF-NDP orientation and its effective application has been the hardest fought position in the history of the movement, established against trends of centrist conciliationism and liquidationism into the NDP, sectarian opposition to, and in more recent years, spontaneist and adventurist hostility to it, leading to defection from the revolutionary vanguard itself.

This rejection of the labor party flows from the same basic illusion touched on by The New Rise of the World Revolution adopted by the Third World Congress since Reunification. It explained: "The sudden development of the new youth vanguard into a mass movement has caused the resurgence of the worship of spontaneity. This is another new obstacle to a breakthrough by revolutionary Marxists." Earlier the document referred to an incorrect interpretation of united action as follows: "The success of such actions is indispensable to victory in specific episodes in the class struggle. But our historic task is not just to achieve episodic victories; it is to lead the working class to victory by overthrowing the international capitalist system and capitalism in each individual country. If we limited ourselves solely

to united actions, we would run the risk of a general defeat in the wake of episodic and ephemeral successes. This would more and more sap the potential for further successes, because what is most necessary to achieve such successes is a correct theoretical and practical grasp of reality, which is unattainable without the incomparable instrument of a revolutionary party.

"Such conceptions," the document continues, "are based implicitly or explicitly on the illusion that thousands of students or young workers fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Vietnam war, for a 'confrontation' with the bourgeois university or even capitalist society as a whole, have already reached the same ideological level as the revolutionary Marxists and that therefore a revolutionary Marxist party and International are no longer necessary."

This spontaneist tendency arising with the worldwide youth radicalization has rejected the NDP out of the same logic. Because the youth radicalization has as yet developed apart from the NDP, because its massive united actions do not look to the NDP for leadership, they conclude that the NDP has been definitely bypassed, not merely by the thousands of students and young worker participants in mass demonstrations, but by the class as a whole.

This tendency which (*Al*) Engler and (*Brian*) Slocock gave expression to in our movement, saw our fundamental orientation, the identification of the LSA/LSO with the NDP, as a barrier to our effective identification with and full involvement in the new wave of radically developing youth. They saw our identification with the NDP as giving us a conservative image and as an impediment that had to be got rid of, while we see it as increasing our political effectiveness. We see such slogans as "Win the NDP to Socialism," through which we express our NDP orientation, as giving depth and direction to the radicalization, as a means to direct the youth militants to a comprehension of what class it must link its struggle to — the working class — in order to render it more effective, as a means to raise and educate youth militants in class politics. Our spontaneists saw the struggle continuing to move outside of the NDP, and the revolutionary wave completely bypassing the NDP.

Interestingly enough, this view did not find them more vigorously proclaiming the "pure" Trotskyist program and seeking on every occasion to more dramatically present the independent banner of the LSA/LSO or the Fourth International, but on the contrary adapting to spontaneist elements, taking a completely opportunist course, and rejecting the revolutionary vanguard party first in the concrete, insofar as it existed in the LSA/LSO, and then in theory.

Slocock cautioned us about not imposing an artificial and abstract mass perspective on the spontaneous development of the majority of antiwar militants, and advised us that our attitudes to such new formations as tenant organizations, COPE (Vancouver electoral popular front) should not be determined by our NDP orientation, but each case must be decided on its own merits (page B, Bulletin 1). It was just two years ago, with great erudition and endless analogies, he predicted that the radicalization of the working class will not be reflected into the NDP through the constituency organizations, but through the trade union movement. Work in the constituencies and through artificially erected "Socialist caucuses" is of little value, he declared.

Needless to say the new radicalization has by no means bypassed the NDP but has been reflected within it, not only in constituency organizations and union locals but in the federal convention and even the parliamentary caucus.

While the NDP leadership has taken no real initiatives to involve the party in the anti-Vietnam

war movement and for a whole period savagely attacked those who did, its top leaders now grace the platforms of the mass rallies, head the demonstrations, and through their actions identify the NDP with them, and carry the NDP into the antiwar movement. While the Canadian Party of Labor (Maoists) came to the VMC-sponsored march on Ottawa this spring all geared to boo and heckle the major speaker, the notorious right-wing NDP leader David Lewis — they had to keep their silence. Lewis forthrightly attacked U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese revolution as imperialist, condemned the Canadian government for its abject material and political complicity and demanded the cessation of arms sales and the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam now.

What about women's liberation—the most ongoing struggle involving new layers of radicals with the most explosive potential? When the abortion caravan hit Ottawa it found immediate support from the NDP parliamentary caucus. MP Grace McInnis firmly identified the NDP with the caravan by addressing the rally that welcomed its arrival. Liberationists chained themselves to the parliamentary gallery and so interrupted the session with their demands for immediate action that the government was forced to adjourn this sacred institution of bourgeois democracy. Some of the party leaders dissociated themselves from this action but others appeared amongst the Liberationists in a gesture of support. The (*Dr. Henry*) Morgentaler case around which the fight for "Free Abortions Now" is developing has firm support from the NDP.

The NDP leadership have proven sufficiently flexible in meeting the challenge of the new wave of radicalization to preserve the image of the party as a party of the left.

It is difficult to prove the effect of much of our work at any given moment and sometimes for a whole period on the course of events. Often, when it would seem that it had little or none whatsoever, later developments prove quite the opposite. For an extended period, we concentrated considerable effort in the NDP across Canada, in B.C., Alberta, Ontario, etc., to build socialist caucuses. Slocock characterized them as being "artificially erected" and "of little political value." But scarcely were the words written than there appeared in the NDP right across the country the so-called Waffle — a broad left-wing formation composed largely of radical anti-imperialist youth with 1/3 of the votes at last year's federal convention and which has since become a stable left-wing force across the country.

## **Revolution by the class**

Spontaneists and confrontationists see the NDP as taking steam out of and tending to divert the militancy of the struggle into parliamentary and reformist channels. But isn't this really just another expression of their lack of understanding of or unwillingness to face up to the fundamental problems of making the revolution? The revolution cannot come out of the confrontation-escalation politics of the Spontaneists no matter how dramatically or how brilliantly their actions are planned. The youth radicalism has to link up with the working class with their vast numbers strategically enmeshed in the working gears of society. In the United States it is difficult for student radicals to see the working class as a class, let alone as a potentially radical force — hence there has been considerable dissipation of their forces in ultra-leftist adventurism.

In the United States where there is no labor party this by no means indicates a lack of reformist illusions — quite the contrary. They are not on the plane of whether socialism can be won by parliamentary means, but on a much lower plane — whether one or another capitalist party can be an instrument for social change. By that token alone, they tend to be parliamentarist. Whereas the NDP is a minority, often hamstrung by electoral trickery and parliamentary procedures, actions identifying with

it often take on an antiparliamentary character and pose revolutionary challenges.

In Canada the revolutionary potential of the working class is much easier to grasp. Not only are the workers organized in unions but their unions are much more socially oriented; they are heavily involved in the NDP with its broad social outlook. In fact, the unions are the dominant force in the NDP. The NDP constantly poses the need for working class power. Since it is a minority party and must continually seek to widen its support, it is necessary for it to move out in protest demonstrations and rallies to continually sharpen the discontent of the workers and organize them along political, even if reformist, lines.

And history records more than one occasion when the struggle has transcended from one for reforms to revolution.

### **Cannot be by-passed**

Insofar as we Trotskyists recognize the NDP as a progressive step forward for the working class, in that sense, indirectly, it can be said we help to establish it. But the fact is that the NDP is there, is a tremendous reality and it plays that role completely outside of our support and even our existence. And revolutionists who do not have an orientation to it cannot get anywhere.

This has been clearly brought home recently by the demise of the Saskatchewan-based Committee for a Socialist Movement — a broad catchall organization at its peak of some 200 revolutionaries outside the NDP. In the short year and a half of its existence it has known nothing but crises over its direction. What blew it up were differences that developed around its orientation to the New Democratic Party and its left-wing Waffle caucus. The first split was when some 20 key leaders, largely in Regina, pulled out to work exclusively in the NDP and Waffle. The next split was the leadership of the Saskatoon Group, who opposed attacks on the Waffle appearing in the CSM paper. They viewed the NDP as a labor party and were for working within it for a socialist program — although they consider it necessary to go beyond the NDP and Waffle. They have joined the Young Socialists. What remained split again, the first group, named by its advisor and our erstwhile comrades (*Al*) Engler and (*Jean*) Rands "The Middle Way," seeks a way outside the NDP and the policy outlined by Trotskyists. The second talks of armed struggle and rejects the NDP on completely sectarian grounds. Both are by now quite probably scattered to the winds.

In no way does our orientation to the NDP distort or inhibit the full responsible functioning of the LSA/LSO as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard. Not only does it link it up to the most significant expression of the class conscious development of the Canadian working class, permitting it to go through the experiences of the class with the class, testing our ideas, allowing us to take every advantage of every developing possibility but it makes our movement and our aim, the Canadian socialist revolution, take on a much more comprehensible character.

Our orientation to the NDP has nothing but good results for us. We described it this way in our 1963 convention resolution:

"The LSA's orientation to the NDP makes it much more attractive a force than it would otherwise be. Our orientation places our whole program in a realistic framework. Regardless of all its shortcomings, in its overall significance the NDP projects the need for working-

class power. The fairly extensive layer of workers who in advance of their class, have already a generally correct assessment of reformism, find a small revolutionary socialist group unattractive — even though they may concede that it is theoretically correct — for it can offer little immediate possibilities of struggle. Their understanding therefore becomes largely passive, without perspective. Our orientation to the NDP, our projection as a socialist caucus, with the aim of winning the NDP to a socialist policy makes us much more attractive and more capable of winning such forces to our side. The merits of our orientation from this viewpoint, which stand completely outside of what forces we may or may not actually have in the NDP at any given moment, must not be overlooked. Our NDP orientation places our forces, small and involved as they are in what is largely education work of an even academic character, in their proper perspective. It projects in broad lines the direction and possibilities of the struggle in the whole next period, thus heightening immensely our attractivity."

That orientation to the CCF-NDP which has been our strategical line since the end of World War II, has been mistakenly characterized by some as entrism. In reality, while within the framework of the orientation the Canadian Trotskyists have implemented a wide range of tactics, only on two occasions has the Canadian movement carried out entry.

What is the entry tactic? Entrism, in general, means the revolutionary vanguard dissolving itself as an open independent organization under its own banner into another non-Trotskyist organization for a period. While it is normal that Trotskyists should have their own open movement propagating their full program, under certain circumstances (in order of course to add forces to the revolutionary vanguard) it is a justifiable tactic to take down the independent banner to permit a full entry into another organization.

In Canada a group that had earlier split away from our movement to form the League for a Revolutionary Workers Party, associated with a U. S. group around a B. J. Field, added this to their bag of differences with our movement claiming that, contrary to us, the public independent party had to be sustained at all times and under all circumstances as a matter of principle.

There are of course many dangers facing Trotskyists who have entered another centrist or reformist movement. The internal cohesion of Trotskyists who enter, must, if anything, be even greater than it is as an independent public force. In essence Trotskyists become a hardened cadre caucus fighting to win new recruits to the full program of Trotskyism in order later to reestablish themselves as the independent public vanguard organization.

Our first experience in applying this tactic was the entry into the CCF during 1936 which was sharply and decisively ended in 1938. It was of the classic type devised by Leon Trotsky, sometimes called the French turn, and most successfully applied by the U. S. Trotskyists. In the mid-thirties a leftward-moving current developed in the Socialist Party of the U. S. The American Trotskyists dissolved their public face, gave up their own public press (soon to be replaced by another press), fused with the main forces in this current and then after a sharp struggle reconstituted their independent movement on a considerably expanded basis, at the same time dealing a political opponent a blow from which it never recovered.

The other entry was carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists over a period of three and a half years commencing in 1952 at approximately the same time as the International Executive Committee of the FI headed by Michel Pablo projected a concept of entry *sui generis* ("of a unique type") on an

international scale and of an extended duration. This entrism, which was practiced by almost all the European sections of the movement either into Stalinist or social democratic labor parties, was only terminated after almost two decades by the new wave of radicalism that broke over the movement in the late sixties and was the subject of a resolution prepared by the majority of the United Secretariat that appeared in International Bulletin No. 7. May 1969.

The second entry conducted by the Canadian Trotskyists had little or nothing in common with entry *sui generis*, certainly as Pablo, through his Canadian supporters, came to interpret it. The Canadian entry was terminated after a relatively short span of three and a half years after an incisive split carried out by a minority. Commencing the entry apparently in agreement with the majority as to its nature, this minority came to give a totally different interpretation of it which they claimed was Pablo's. Pablo subsequently recognized them as the Canadian section prior to their complete liquidation into the reformist milieu and disappearance from the political scene.

The second entry was ended with the expulsion of the main Trotskyist forces in the East from the CCF, the formation of the Socialist Educational League and the publication of *Workers Vanguard*. Ever since then, the Canadian Trotskyists have maintained an open Trotskyist organization with public organs — today four — and have carried a wide range of independent activities — all within the framework of our CCF-NDP orientation — unconditional support of the NDP with an extensive fraction within it.

In the resolution dealing with our work in the NDP which was adopted by our 1966 convention, we described the implementation of our orientation as follows: "It means that the NDP remains the focus of all our politics — but not the center of our activities" — that center was the new wave of youth radicalization.

## **The United Front**

How to establish the hegemony of the revolutionary socialists over the left? An initial tactic devised to achieve this was the united front. Lenin devised this tactic following the failure of the Communist International to win important sectors of the workers within social democracy to the banner of the Communist parties. The united front was designed to effect unity in action of Communist Party and Social Democratic Party workers on issues of common concern. The parties would march together while retaining their separate identity. Through such a device the greatest possible striking power would be brought into play against a common enemy. At the same time it was anticipated that the Communist Parties would effectively demonstrate the superiority of their ideas and their party, win the best workers from the social democracy, and thus establish their hegemony over the entire left. The tactic of the united front remains one of the most precious tools in the arsenal of revolutionary politics

The tactic of entry was first carried out by our French comrades in 1934. It was predicated on the fact that our own forces were weak and isolated, and that an important and viable left wing in the social democracy was developing in our direction. They joined the social democratic party as a body, in order to work within it as a fraction to come in contact with its left wing, to influence it, and to fuse with it, and thereby broaden the basis for the subsequent construction of a new revolutionary party — a Trotskyist party — in France.

## **Concept of entry**

The first entry carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists was in 1937 into the CCF which we characterized even as late as 1946 as "predominantly an agrarian social-democratic party with its primary base in the prairie radicalism of the western farmers ... its membership in the major industrial cities of the East primarily middle class with a small sprinkling of highly skilled workers. The forces of Canadian Trotskyism were limited almost entirely to Vancouver and Toronto. The Vancouver comrades had earlier proposed entry into the BC section of the CCF to the executive committee. The matter was now discussed through the movement and they took that action independently. Then in the summer of 1937 the executive committee majority submitted a one-line resolution to the party — resolve that the executive committee endorse immediate entry into the CCF. A minority replies that the CCF was stagnant and declining and that there was no left wing that could be won to our ideas. After a long and extremely bitter conflict, the organization convention, by a very small majority, voted to enter the CCF. No sooner had the motion been carried than almost the entire top leadership headed by Jack Macdonald, apparently exhausted by the years of isolation and grueling struggle, stood aside. Maurice Spector, the other leading figure in the movement, had already led Canada to work in the U. S. party where he lined up with A.J. Muste against entry into the Socialist Party. The entry was thrown into the laps of young and quite inexperienced comrades and its conduct was further complicated by the failure of much of the minority (who were actually a majority of the movement's activists) to participate. just these circumstances alone guaranteed that entry would threaten the movement with liquidation.

Not only did this entry prove fruitless in so far as bringing new blood into our movement, but the conditions and atmosphere in the CCF infected our own forces. Many comrades became demoralized and dropped away, some even became completely acclimatized to the reformist milieu.

It was not until late in 1938 that the remnants of the entrists and non-entrists with the aid of the International, became reconciled and the entry was terminated. Our weakened forces reconstituted themselves as the Socialist Workers League, but before they could consolidate and renew their national connections the Second World War broke out and the movement was driven underground. The Canadian movement, unlike our co-thinkers in Britain and the U. S. who were able to function openly with only modest adjustments, was driven underground by sweeping repressive legislation.

In November, 1944 a Canada-wide conference was held in Montreal that pulled together our forces and prepared the organization of the Revolutionary Workers Party two years later. Even as we reconstituted this nucleus of the vanguard as a public independent party, we did not by any means reject the possibility of being faced again with the necessity of re-entering the CCF in our struggle to build the mass revolutionary party. On the day of its formal organization the RWP took a CCF orientation — fraction work in the CCF but with major emphasis on building the independent party. Without this necessary preliminary pulling together of cadres, a subsequent entry into the CCF was inconceivable.

In 1943 the delegates to the convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, formed in 1940 through unification of the All Canadian Congress of Labor and the Canadian section of the CIO, voted to endorse the CCF as the political arm of organized labor. By 1948 it became obvious that the CCF had not only taken on important strength but had sunk real roots in the working class areas in all the major metropolitan centers and had become — in effect — the labor party.

With that the movement made CCF fraction work a more serious part of party work and raised

the question of the advisability of carrying out an entry into the CCF. Commencing in 1948, the leadership began to prepare the movement for possible entry. Thus we come to the second entry carried out by the Canadian Trotskyists. At that time the IEC headed by Pablo was projecting entry *sui generis* in the major sectors of the globe.

How did the Canadian Trotskyists see their entry? Unlike many other periods in the history of the Canadian movement, this one is fairly well documented. The major document unanimously adopted by the 1951 convention is entitled "The CCF — Our Tasks and Perspectives" and that is exactly what it is: a detailed analysis of the CCF, and the challenge it poses for the Trotskyists in their struggle to build the revolutionary vanguard.

This document differentiates the entry that it projected from the type of entry known as the "French turn." Its premise was "not the existence of left formations — nor an increase in internal democracy in the party or a wave of growth." Its premise was that the CCF has now all the skeletal forms of the labor party, and that while we have gathered some precious cadre — we are small. We projected that in this period of extreme national and international tension, of McCarthyism and the cold war that "the CCF under the next upsurge," we projected, "will embrace the class. The class will go there and nowhere else; there it will undergo the experience of reformism — and there, given the perspective of world and Canadian capitalism will move forward to the revolutionary solution of its problems." And we said: "The struggle for a program that will express the opposition of the masses to the oppressive burden of the war and the encroachment of the Bonapartist state will thrust up a new leadership that will do battle with the Coldwell-Douglas-Millard leadership. The program, we stated very clearly, "will be the transitional program of the Fourth International; the leadership," we underscored, "will be the Trotskyist leadership of the Canadian revolution." That is, the only alternative to the reformist leadership was Trotskyism.

This discussion brought to a close, at least on the surface, a longstanding, wearing struggle that had developed in the Toronto branch with an unprincipled personal clique formation headed by Joe Rose. This clique had only in June 1951 finally put its political views down on paper — they then denied that the CCF was the mass political party of labor and formally counterposed the concept that the genuine left would only develop through the trade unions. At the convention they suddenly switched, voted for the entry, and Rose was put on the Central and Political Committees.

By March 1952 our B.C. forces publicly announced their entry without prior consultation with the P.C. In the East as we began to implement the entry, the Rose clique began to develop widening differences. Veering wildly from their previous sectarian evaluation of the CCF they moved, not to the majority position of long-term entry, but toward liquidation into the CCF milieu. They became super-security-conscious, refusing to support the application for membership of a comrade in a CCF club in which they held membership. Finally, using as an excuse the readmission of a former member in the movement, who they claimed was a security problem and whose case went before the Control Commission where it was cleared, they walked out apparently in order to protect their own security in the CCF.

The Rose group, and those who later joined it, postulating the need to remain in the CCF "at all costs," were unable to undertake any serious left-wing initiatives, fearing that challenges to the party's right-wing establishment might provoke disciplinary reprisals. The majority, on the contrary, moved out in aggressive actions to build the CCF left and expand the Trotskyist forces. While it was felt necessary to drop our public press, we made a big effort to stimulate the BC leftists to launch with us a journal for

the broad left, we were instrumental in the publication of a rash of constituency bulletins popularizing transitional demands, and our American co-thinkers allocated space in their press which we commenced to promote. We developed bookstores that carried all the publications of the Trotskyist movement, we held public forums in Toronto which utilized our comrades who had been refused membership in the CCF — and we ran candidates for public office. We made every effort to carry on with the key work of recruiting and developing Trotskyist cadre.

## **Liquidationism**

Rapidly the dispute which resulted in the split of world Trotskyism into two tendencies grouped around the International Secretariat and the International Committee which was healed only in 1963, broke over our heads. The Canadian leadership was totally unacquainted with these developments until it read Comrade Cannon's "Open Letter to Trotskyists" published in *The Militant*. It was an appeal to the worldwide movement to unite in a struggle against Pablo's revisionism. The Vancouver comrades immediately identified themselves with the "Open Letter." The leadership in Toronto equivocated in the belief that the issues at dispute could be discussed and decided upon at the next world congress.

It was then that a minority in the leadership and in the Toronto branch headed by Fitzgerald and McAlpine commenced to give a new interpretation to our entry — one that had never figured in any of the discussions and documentation that had decided the entry. Their arguments developed the need for entry along the following lines: 1) that the Third World War was thundering down on us, 2) that we would enter into this war with the present alignment of forces on the left — the Communist party, Social Democratic and labor parties — substantially as they are now, 3) that the Trotskyist forces woefully small must at all costs enter as rapidly as possible the Communist Party or Social Democratic/labor party, whichever was the effective movement of the working class in their respective countries, 4) that we could be confident that out of the impact of the world holocaust on these parties the revolutionary instrument would be forged, with our forces playing a contributory role.

### **Entry *sui generis* ("of a unique type")**

To question these broad and sweeping generalizations, to suggest that the timetable might be inaccurate, that events could take place that might drastically alter paths that the traditional parties of labor might well go through, some crises that would open up new roads for Trotskyism, was dismissed or ridiculed as holding on to old concepts as not facing up to the new reality. We were even violating the position of the Third World Congress, we were told, which we had voted for without any criticism but which we were only now informed had such concepts unknown to us and not brought out to our attention at the time but firmly imbedded in them.

Suddenly on Jan. 25/54, to the embarrassment of the minority, the Rose clique bounced back into the arena with a Committee for a Socialist Regroupment. They appeared as 100% opponents of the Cannonite majority 100% supporters of Pablo and called for a split in Canadian section. The minority and Pablo himself in a letter to the leadership dissociated themselves from the split.

But among the resolutions and documents of the 14<sup>th</sup> plenum held by the IS headed by Pablo was one decreeing the suspension from membership in the International all members of the IEC who support the "Open Letter" who approve it and who are trying to rally on this basis the sections of the International. It ordered the suspension from their posts of leadership in the sections all those who signed these appeals or approved them.

This ukase handed to the leadership of the Canadian Trotskyist movement to enforce was

immediately operative against Ross Dowson, a member of the IEC, executive secretary and member of the CC-PC, and against Reg Bullock of the CC. Dowson had come to identify himself with the "Open Letter." If taken seriously as intended it would have decapitated the movement at one blow – placing the minority in control. The minority abstained, but not before stating their complete agreement with it and expressing regret that due to the nature of our party, because of its political level, this instruction was inoperative.

While it was clear where the Canadian Trotskyists stood, preparations were made for a convention. Suddenly on April 7, the Rose clique, along with a few other drop-outs, applied for restoration of their membership in the section. The Toronto branch voted to table the matter until after the convention called for April 10 and 11. The minority, demanding immediate acceptance, stormed out of the meeting. A day or so later a letter dated April 8 appeared entitled "The Canadian Section of the Fourth International to Carry On." It was signed by Fitzgerald, McAlpine and Grenier and announced an emergency conference for April 11 "to continue the Canadian party with all those who support the International" and to "name a temporary executive committee and a delegate to the 4th World Congress."

This rump "Conference of the Canadian Section" publicized the fusion of the Fitzgerald-McAlpine splitters with the Rose clique. Their interim NC among other strange flowers numbered in its circle one Comrade Houston, whose readmission into the section had earlier served as the pretext for the Rose clique desertion from the movement.

Fitzgerald attended the "Fourth World Congress" as the recognized delegate of "the Canadian section of the Fourth International." Before completely disappearing from the scene this assortment of splitters and deserters gave a further lesson in their interpretation of entry *sui generis*.

Suddenly almost every Trotskyist who had managed to enter the Ontario CCF found himself charged by the CCF brass with being a member of an opponent political party. As it turned out, having once started out on a liquidationist course, the rump section's alternate NC member Houston carried it further by turning informer to the CCF brass. A little later, full NC member Rose carried their entry to its ultimate. When appearing before the investigators Rose went state's evidence for a promise that his membership might later win favorable consideration.

Was the liquidationist course to be explained away as the aberrations of disoriented individuals? When the Rose clique's call for split characterized the schism in the world movement as being between those who "are still applying the formulas of the thirties which because of the new world realities have become empty clichés" when it said: "In the words of the IS 'let the dead bury its own,' only the living can make an effective contribution to the victory of Canadian socialism," and its previous position of carrying out the entry "at all costs," it was only echoing Fitzgerald and McAlpine's words about facing the new world realities, about grasping the new Trotskyism. But what role did Trotskyists have to play at all in Pablo's war-revolution concept which was automatic and irreversible?

For its major forces which were concentrated in the East the second Canadian entry was terminated by the expulsion of almost its entire entered forces in the CCF. The Socialist Educational League was launched publicly in December, 1955 with new elements who had been won in the course of the anti-expulsion fight who constituted an effective fraction in the CCF with a no-split perspective.

However, it is apparent that regardless of the expulsions, the forces of Canadian Trotskyism, in order to meet the challenge of events that were already developing, would have ended the entry in the next year or two. This is clear from the character of their activities over the next five years, the struggle along with the Vancouver comrades against a liquidationist current that developed in their branch, and the formation there of the Socialist Forum in February 1959, later the Socialist Information Center, and finally its fusion with the Toronto-based SEL under a common name — the League for Socialist Action.

In its evaluation of the entry *sui generis* held over from the Third World Congress Since Reunification in the International Information Bulletin May 1969, the United Secretariat referred to the "conjunctural factors" that were particularly cited in the debates at the time it was first projected in the early fifties, and to "the structural factors" that were emphasized when the tactic was being applied.

The resolution states: "(7) The citing of conjunctural factors proved some time later to have been in error, the economic perspective turning out to be completely the reverse and giving to a prolonged favourable cycle, the danger of war postponed. On the other hand the crisis of Stalinism developed considerably faster than had been visualized." Nonetheless this entry as practiced by several sections ended only as the impact of a turn marked as being around 1966 (as the new wave of youth radicalism broke over them) led them to alter their tactics in this field. According to Comrade Pierre Frank in his report on entrism "this tactic was and proved itself to be the one possible for a whole period."

Even today, 19 years after, the 1951 convention document's broad projection for the CCF-NDP entry remains accurate. The workers as a class are going through an NDP experience — it is only taking longer than we expected. For Bolsheviks that time is precious time indeed as it gives us new opportunities to accumulate and develop cadre which is absolutely essential if we are to take advantage of the favorable turn of events to make a revolution.

And already by December 1955, when they had been expelled from the CCF and had set up the independent Socialist Educational League with its press the *Workers Vanguard*, the Canadian Trotskyists were feeling the pressure, the need to free themselves from the restraint that long-term entry tended to impose.

Two months after the public appearance of the SEL came the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its revelations of the crimes of Stalin, followed shortly by the uprising in Poznan (*the Polish workers' anti-Stalinist Solidarnosc movement*—ed.) and then the Hungarian revolution. The Communist parties throughout the world underwent a profound crisis. In Canada the entire Quebec leadership split away, followed shortly by the defection of nearly all its public figures save Tim Buck. How could the Trotskyists, entered in the CCF, meet this challenge?

### **Within the orientation**

The CCF leadership began to shuck off every last remnant of socialism symbolized by the "Regina Manifesto" as they cleared the way for the launching of the NDP with the newly united CLC. The dumping of the "Manifesto" set off centrifugal forces throughout the CCF. Prominent BC left-winger Rod Young announced the formation of a new socialist party. How could entered Trotskyists block this dissipation of forces? Regroupment becomes a matter of great interest in socialist circles' — how could Trotskyists, entered in a movement from which many of these forces were decamping, participate? Not only did the war not come, but a powerful antiwar movement commenced to develop, particularly

among student youth, the first expression of the student radicalization that was to gather momentum through the '60s. The Cuban masses under Fidel and Che took power and offered a new pole of attraction on the left.

Obviously entry was becoming increasingly insufferable. The SEL moved out, within the framework of its CCF orientation, but quite prepared to risk the security of its CCF fraction, for it needed every force at its disposal. We moved right in on the CP, circulating literature discussing and challenging their line. In front of a mass membership meeting we forced CP leader Tim Buck himself to agree to a public debate (which of course never came off). We initiated a series of regroupment forums with the ex CPers in Montreal. We launched an independent Toronto Socialist Youth Forum. As the CCF was being played down prior to the launching of the NDP we entered a candidate in a Toronto federal riding in 1958 where a token CCF candidate was in the running. When the CCF made a no-contest deal we went into the Hastings-Frontenac by-election to challenge the Minister of External Affairs for his seat. We consolidated youth contacts gained in the antiwar and labor party youth movements by launching in 1960 an open and independent Trotskyist youth organization, the Young Socialists. We moved out to popularize the Cuban cause and launched the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

These initiatives were not taken without meeting some resistance within our own forces. In the Vancouver branch an opposition clique developed around Bill Whitney. Only for a short period had the Vancouver comrades had the opportunity and the responsibility of defending the full program of Trotskyism particularly in its highest form of expression, the building of a vanguard, in contest with all other political tendencies. They had been deprived over an extended period of time of that condition that is normal and healthy for the full development of revolutionary socialists. Like the prisoners in the cages of Vietnam's Thieu they had been long cramped up and some such as Whitney lost the use of vital faculties. To this day Whitney is an able articulator of many of the basic theoretical concepts of Trotskyism but he is hopelessly crippled with liquidationism.

After many long and tortuous discussions where agreement was made to terminate the BC entry, which never seemed to get implemented, Whitney became isolated, the branch moved out and he broke. In February 1959, the Vancouver Socialist Forum was launched through Malcolm Bruce and Fred McNeil, former top leaders of the CP who had come to our side.

## Cadre gathering

It was in this period that we gathered the key cadre for the next big opportunity that the CCF, to become the New Democratic Party, faced us with. The situation was without precedent. The Canadian Trotskyists were confronted with the challenge of being in on the birth of a new mass labor party formation. The next turn proved that through the hectic and trying struggles of the previous decades we had laid true and sound foundations under ourselves, that we had developed valuable cadre.

No revolutionary opportunity, no matter how profound, produces its own cadre. At best it only provides the culture where its elements can begin to flourish and coalesce as cadre for the next upsurge; or the opportunity for cadre that has already been formed in a previous struggle to intervene and transform itself and move forward to victory. We proved in the crucial period of 1957-63 that we had gathered together invaluable forces, that we had assimilated the program of the revolution, and that we had learned how to implement it—its politics. But we had not had time to accumulate sufficient cadre. It is this that is the ongoing and supreme challenge before the Canadian and world Trotskyist

movement.

In 1955 with the merger of the Trades and Labor Congress – American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Congress of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations which had endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm since 1943, new opportunities opened up to widen the bases of support for independent labor political action. The CCF brass saw it as a chance to broaden their apparatus and to rid themselves of a broad left wing concentrated largely in the Prairie provinces and B. C. This left-reformist to centrist wing had crystallized in opposition to the rightward course of the CCF top brass largely around the party's founding programmatic statement known as the "Regina Manifesto." This statement, essentially Christian pacifist, nonetheless committed the movement to public ownership of the basic means of production and to irreconcilable opposition against "Wars designed to make the world safe for capitalism."

While the "Manifesto" had long ceased to have any relationship at all to the completely opportunist positions to which the parliamentary caucus consistently committed the party, the CCF leadership formally decided to get rid of it. As the Ontario leadership expressed it in their provincial council minutes "the CCF should endeavor to make its appeal more pragmatic, more empirical," and should publish some new basic literature "which would restate the application of democratic socialism in today's world and in today's terms." That turned out to be the "Winnipeg Declaration of Principles" which dumped public ownership for public control, and replaced abolition of private profit and corporate power with the concept of social planning. This statement was jammed through the 1956 CCF Convention in Winnipeg.

The dumping of the "Regina Manifesto" was of course also highly agreeable to the trade union brass. The *United Autoworker* applauded the new look: "Many in organized labor will welcome the 'Winnipeg Declaration' . . . with the tag 'Socialism-Will-Cure-Everything' off its back the CCF should be ... much more acceptable to union voters."

Early in 1957 the CCF leadership, through a series of formal and informal secret discussions with the CLC brass, laid the basis for a Joint Political Action Committee, subsequently set up by the CLC 1958 convention and renamed the National Committee for the New Party. It projected a series of seminars, conferences and forums throughout the country at which CCF'ers, unionists, farmers' organizations, "professional people and other liberally minded persons" could prepare for the launching of a new party to be founded in July-August 1961.

These developments had a shattering effect on the old CCF left, which we had concluded after many experiences was exhausted as a viable force. Many of them walked away, others talked in terms of splits, on the West Coast of tearing the BC CCF out of the federal movement, or of setting up a new socialist party.

We Trotskyists, however, saw a tremendous new opportunity opening up for us and decided to throw every ounce of energy into the debates, seminars and discussions, into every process leading to the formation of the new party, the new labor party striving to assure its being launched as a revolutionary party.

Of course, we knew that it could not be a vanguard party. But we decided to do everything possible to project our ideas into the situation, to give it a revolutionary program, to permeate it with the spirit of our transitional program.

We saw the situation confronting us as similar to that speculated upon by Trotsky around the possible developments of a labor party on this continent back in 1932.

"It is evident that the possibility of participating in and of utilizing a 'labor party' movement would be greater in the period of its inception; that is, in the period when the party is not a party but an amorphous political mass movement. That we must participate in it at that time and with the greatest energy is without question, but not to help form a 'labor party' which will exclude us and fight against us but to push the progressive elements of the movement more and more to the left by our activity and propaganda. I know this seems too simple for the new great school which searches in every way for a method to jump over its feeble head."

At that juncture the Communist Party was staggering from crisis to crisis— set off by the 20th Congress revelations of the crimes of Stalin. The anti nuclear arms struggle, the Cuban Revolution and the Black struggle in the US were stimulating new elements and moving them to the left. There was a feeling of protest developing in the ranks of organized labor against the crushing of the IWA's (*International Woodworkers' union—ed.*) organizing drive in Newfoundland and the rash of union-busting legislation.

The old alignments were breaking up —there was significant sentiment for the regroupment of socialist forces — the most notable expression the Council of Socialist Clubs in Montreal. The seminars and conferences on the new party were attracting new forces. We were actively involved in all these processes.

### **Formation of the NDP**

We threw the pages of our press, the *Workers' Vanguard*, wide open to discussion on all the issues. We explained the need for the new party to commit itself to public ownership, why it must take a clear and unequivocal stand against the war drive. We took on every opposition, from the Stalinists who tried to scuttle its development as a class party by advocating a "democratic national coalition of patriotic forces for peace," to the sectarian critics on the sidelines who were unable to distinguish the unions from the bureaucrats, to the Galbraithians, to the would-be liquidators into the bourgeois Liberal Party. We urged all socialists, no matter their tendency, to come in and fight for a class struggle policy and a militant leadership.

At the same time we projected the Trotskyist movement even more vigorously to the fore through fusing the Toronto-based Socialist Educational League to the Vancouver-based Socialist Information Center and launching out as the League for Socialist Action — a cross-Canada movement. We published and circulated on a big scale a simple programmatic pamphlet popularizing our transitional program and presenting ourselves as a socialist tendency whose relationship would be best expressed as an affiliate of a federated labor party.

The New Democratic Party was launched as a labor party by some 1800 voting delegates who made it the most representative working class assembly that has yet taken place in this country. The tumultuous policy debates showed the radical potential of the Canadian working class.

Our understanding of the processes at work, the implementation of our orientation, was overwhelmingly vindicated by this founding convention. The old leadership of the CCF, allied with the trade-union bureaucracy, prevailed but not without a head-on collision with a core of delegates who won such widespread support that it could only be defeated by the just elected national leader T.C.

Douglas, blackmailing the delegates into submission by announcing his resignation should they adopt an anti-NATO-NORAD resolution.

### **The youth radicalization**

For the next two or three years the tempo of NDP development continued forward at a high pitch. In Quebec in the 1965 federal elections, with practically no provincial organization and heavily marked as an English and federalist party, its vote shot up 60% to 18% in Montreal and 12% of the total vote. But increasingly it tended to move to the right, to become more structured, more bureaucratized. In 1963, a large proportion of comrades who were our most important connection with the NDP through its youth movement, were expelled.

Without doubt our greatest successes in the earlier, formative years of the NDP were in the youth arena. In 1961 while the League firmed up as an open and pan-Canadian movement, the Young Socialists dissolved their public face and entered the NDY in order to integrate their forces fully in the building of the NDP's youth movement, the New Democratic Youth, to build its left wing and to consolidate out of it a revolutionary youth cadre. In key areas of the country — Ontario and British Columbia — they provided some of the main leadership force in the NDY.

The Young Socialists recruited their first substantial forces out of the NDY and trained them in the fires of its internal struggles. Our forces faced repeated and sweeping expulsions, which we met with vigorous public defense campaigns through which we were able each time to reconstitute our fraction — with an increased number of new recruits who, if less experienced, were nonetheless completely immersed in the process of gaining invaluable experiences.

During this process the YS launched a Trotskyist youth newspaper, and through it expanded its open activities. In 1966-67, as the ascending youth radicalization began to move past an NDY paralyzed by its right-wing leadership we withdrew from it and launched an independent Trotskyist youth organization which, from an effective point of view of intervening in the struggle, can be said to have replaced the NDY in the youth arena. At the same time as the YS carries our orientation to support the NDP propagandistically, without doing fraction in the NDP, it is able to operate in many ways as the pro-NDP student organization.

At our 1963 convention we concluded that the formative period of the party was then ending and at the same time new opportunities to widen the base of our league not finding reflection in the NDP were opening up. We therefore decided to pay more attention to our NDP work in the trade unions and to direct more time and energy to our independent work, to build the antiwar movement, to increase the circulation of our literature, to develop our forums. One of the most significant decisions of this new stage was to step up our commitment to participation in the developing struggles in Quebec.

We began to develop the increasingly apparent possibilities for coalescing widely diverse forces behind an anti-Vietnam war movement in 1965. The work of our US co-thinkers was of tremendous value for its scope, for the movement was more limited here, its course of development in many ways has paralleled that of the US. Our "single issue" "End Canadian Complicity" strategy, fought out with all currents and tendencies in conferences across the country, has firmly established a movement that has been capable of a whole series of actions, ever renewing itself as new waves of youth enter into the struggle. While our opponents have labeled the anti-Vietnam war movement "Trotskyist," the imperialist aggression in Vietnam has evoked such response, has proven to be such a key factor in the radicalization process, that all forces, like it or not, have had to participate in its mass

actions.

The anti-Vietnam war movement has been the broadest ongoing movement in decades. Only the rising women's liberation movement, with which there is an inevitable interaction, would appear to be approaching it.

Whereas the NDP and trade-Union brass first repulsed all approaches of the antiwar movement, then took a cautious, passive attitude, they have been compelled to make identity with it. We gave them no peace. We buffeted them from both inside and outside and thus have helped to raise the level of an entire mass in key sectors of the Canadian working class. In the process of this ongoing and vital activity which we have carried, we have established right across the country a whole layer of comrades who are widely respected as leaders in their communities and whom the NDP and trade-union leadership have had to recognize.

At the same time as we moved out freely and independently of the NDP milieu, in keeping with the dynamic concept of our NDP orientation, our fraction reached out of its localized, contracting work areas to play a key role in the formation of province-wide socialist caucuses in the Ontario, Alberta and BC sections.

These caucuses, well under way by 1966, continued to expand on a modest basis for a couple of years until the rise of Waffle for which they prepared valuable ground-work. They played a pioneer role through their struggle against the reformist leadership in legitimatizing caucus formations in the NDP. Through their projection of a rounded alternative socialist program and in the struggle to promote it, they trained cadre and established leading figures on the left.

Our last convention prepared our movement to meet developing Canadian national sentiments which we interpreted as anti-US imperialist, leading to anti-Canadian capitalist and to class consciousness. When this burst into the NDP with the formation of Waffle we were ready to integrate ourselves into it. With the rise and firming up of Waffle as an English-Canadian-wide force, the area of revolutionary propaganda in the NDP has been widened and the NDP has become more attractive to radicalizing youth. But Waffle is as yet to some considerable degree still outside the movement. It has not yet directed itself into the constituency organizations or towards the established union movement and so does not cause us, at this time at any rate, to make any substantial tactical adjustments in our orientation.

## With the class

Our orientation to the NDP, to the labor party, is an orientation to the working class in its process of developing political consciousness. We have been firm and consistent in maintaining this orientation because we have no intention of being cut off or cutting ourselves off from the force that is destined to settle accounts with capitalist rule and establish workers power. For the period that is foreseeable ahead the working class is going to go through that experience. We intend to participate in that experience — fully. No one, nothing is going to stop us. Neither sectarians, nor opportunists—nor the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class nor their direct agents. We intend to be right in there — to expedite that experience and to assure that it moves forward to the forging of the type of instrument necessary to realize the Canadian revolution.

We are flexible in its application because the tempo of the class struggle and the maturing of the

workers is vastly uneven; and it is possible — even necessary to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself right now — to turn the relationship of forces between ourselves and the reformist leadership of the NDP to our advantage. It is necessary to build the cadre now.

(end)

End notes

*In the Introduction*

NDP – New Democratic Party, formed in 1961 and successor to the CCF

CCF - Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, formed in 1932 as an agrarian-based Social-democratic party

Socialist League, formed in 1974 in Toronto, ideological successor to the LSA; became known as the Forward Group in 1977

*In "Opposition to Orientation"*

Third World Congress since Reunification – 1968; the third congress since the 1963

Re-unification W.C. of the Fourth International, which was founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938

VMC - Vietnam Mobilization Committee, the anti-war united front in which the LSA played a leading role in the 1960s

*In "Cannot be by-passed"*

International Executive Committee (IEC) of the FI – the Fourth International grouping headed by Michel Pablo, the leading European exponent of entrism *sui generis*.

United Secretariat - Fourth International grouping including the US, Canadian and British sections in opposition to Pablo's line, dissolved with the reunification of world Trotskyism in 1963

*In "Concept of Entry"*

Bonapartist state – historical reference to the military regime thrown up in the later stages of the French Revolution straddling the contending forces of the rising bourgeoisie, the monarchist reaction and the revolutionary proletariat, i.e., a period of sustained supra-class "dual power"

*In "Liquidationism"*

The Militant – journal of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, American section of the FI. until 1980

*Pseudonyms*

Grenier: Jean-Marie Bédard

McAlpine: Ken Sutherland

Pablo: Michel Raptis, veteran Greek F.I. leader

Rose: Joe Rosenthal

*(Comment for the website edition by the Web Ed.—2009)*

*This document is not only of historical interest, sketching as it does the history of the Trotskyist movement in Canada; it also expresses the most complete development of the Trotskyist orientation to the mass, mainstream independent labor political party in Canada – the only such established labor party in North America – the New Democratic Party.*

*This document outlines the strategy that the Canadian Trotskyist movement tested and refined over 40 years in coming to grips with the challenge posed by the existence of the NDP, which from its birth as the agrarian-based CCF evolved into a mass social-democratic labor-based party, which for historical reasons has been able to position itself as the obligatory first step in the political education and mobilization of the Canadian working class. Thus, Canadian Trotskyists see the mass NDP not only as “in the way,” but also “on the way” to labor’s political development towards establishing socialism in this country – a dialectical concept that also obliges the forces of revolutionary socialism to relate to and participate closely in this party (its proletarian life and fate.)*

*By 1948, in the judgement of its author Ross Dowson, the formerly agrarian-based CCF had acquired the decisive support from the Canadian union movement to be recognized as a labor party. Furthermore, with the consolidation of the major Canadian union federations’ support in the “re-branding” of the CCF as the New Democratic Party in 1961, there was henceforth no doubt that the Canadian working class would hereby first pass through the experience of a reformist labor party on the road to workers power in this country.*

*However, the advantage and opportunity afforded by the existence of this mass-based parliamentarist labor party formation – first the CCF then the NDP – could be realized by a dialectical approach to the question, in recognizing the need for a strategic orientation to this mass formation which would vastly help in legitimizing revolutionary socialist ideas, particularly as applied with the powerful concept of Trotsky’s Transitional Program (1938). This is method of applying concrete demands such as nationalization of industry and resources in the context of plant closings or foreign takeover and control, or of ending Canadian complicity in US aggression throughout the world, or of women’s rights to control their lives and bodies through abolition of abortion laws, etc. These transitional demands not only fulfil democratic (i.e., reformist) needs, but in reality they either cannot be fully realized without a socialist revolution nor can even serious reforms leading to partial realization of these demands be initiated without mass mobilization of the class, which is the first requisite of the march towards socialism. Most importantly, the context of raising these transitional demands before the working class within the political arena of the labor party is far more powerful than that of a labor movement reduced to begging for concessions from bourgeois parties.*

*In fact, the real indirect political influence of this labor party intruder into the hallowed halls of bourgeois Parliament is much greater than the often marginal vote percentage it garners and its under-representation in terms of seats won. The NDP appears a marginal player on the federal plane but in reality this labor party is solidly in the mainstream of Canadian politics, and with the impending victory of the NDP’s pressure for electoral reform – proportional representation – and the increasingly likely departure of Quebec from Confederation in a decade or two, the NDPs destiny is clearly to become a major force which will be soon thrust into power in Ottawa. Thus, a key sector of the North American working class will take power in its own name, the first step in the struggle for a socialist North America.*

*This document outlines this long struggle of Canadian Trotskyists for a mass orientation to the class – in reality, the obligation Canadian revolutionists must come to grips with – as well as its pitfalls and dangers to building the revolutionary vanguard – the central task facing us of rebuilding the revolutionary cadre, as the author saw it.*

==J.D., January 2006

# TOWARDS GAY LIBERATION

by Randy Notte and Ian Mackenzie

*(From Young Socialist/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes  
1972 Discussion Bulletin Vol. 8 No. 5 – 2<sup>nd</sup> document)*

*(Ed note: this policy debate was in the context of the slogan generally accepted in the movement: "GAY IS OK")*

## Introduction

This document is presented 1) to give an analysis of the oppression of gays and especially of gay youth; 2) to discuss the history of the Gay Liberation movement in Europe and North America; 3) to discuss the experiences of this movement in Canada and on Canadian campuses and high schools; 4) to discuss the nature of our present involvement with Gay Liberation; 5) to call for a YS/LJS orientation to Gay Liberation.

When we use the term 'Plenum Report' in this document, we are referring to the report written by John Steele and adopted by the Summer 1971 Plenum of the Central Committee of the LSA/ LSO, and which also comprises our present line on Gay Liberation. In addition, we are familiar with the interpretation of the line from the Executive of the Vancouver branch of the LSA, which was presented at a meeting of gay comrades.

As we are Vancouver comrades, we have firsthand experience of Gay Liberation in Vancouver only, and have observed our movement vis-a-vis Gay Liberation only here. Nevertheless, even on this latter question we feel that what we have to say is of importance to the movement nationally, given that the line applies nationally. Therefore it is doubtful that the nature of our involvement with Gay Liberation differs substantially elsewhere in the country.

## The Oppression of Gays

Gay people are one of the most oppressed minorities in North American society. Very few oppressed groups have shared this quality with gay people: to be denied, according to the prevailing morality of society, the very **right** to exist. One can draw a parallel between the position of gays in this society and that of Jews in the Third Reich.

The oppression of gays can be traced back to the ancient Hebrews, who were, by the way, the only people in the Mediterranean basin to forbid homosexuality. With the adoption by Europe of Judaic morality, spread by Christianity, came the fear and hate towards homosexuality felt throughout the Western world -- and which, incidentally, does not in general exist outside of Europe and America.

However, Western society's oppression of gay people is not just a throwback to obsolete religious beliefs. The prohibition of homosexuality goes hand in glove with the oppression of women in the nuclear family. It does not exist in a vacuum, but is part of sexual oppression **in general**. It is part of the reactionary morality that helps maintain the

nuclear family and thus capitalist society as a whole. Even after what has been prematurely billed as the 'sexual revolution', the old prejudices against homosexuality persist, even among so-called 'sexually liberated' people. The fear of homosexuality is the most oppressive and deeply rooted element of the old reactionary sexual ideology, and must be discarded on the rubbish heap of history if straights (*hetereosexuals* -Ed.) and gays alike are to break free from the chains that bind them to the past, and undertake the construction of a new society.

What is the form that gay oppression takes on in this society? In this question, as elsewhere in the document, we are interested primarily in the position of young gays, who are particularly oppressed as homosexuals and whose oppression is compounded by all the difficulties of youth in a restrictive capitalist society. Some of the difficulties encountered by older gays are reduced for the young homosexual who is perhaps still living at home and going to school or university. For example, a person who is not yet on the labour market is not affected by occupational exclusion – the risk of being fired for revealing one's sexual preferences. But in general, the young gay shares the oppression of the older, and many aspects of her or his oppression are unique.

The oppression of gay adolescents is especially brutal, because they may not understand the nature or the meaning of their nascent sexual impulses. Even if they do understand that they are gay, they have no way to escape, no freedom of movement, as they are trapped in their families and schools. For them there does not even exist the alternative of the gay subculture, for all its oppressiveness and limitations. They may know no other gay people: for all they might guess (at least until the advent of (*the current movement for* --Ed.) Gay Liberation) they are the only people in the world to feel the desires they do. Certainly, there is nothing to encourage the young homosexual who first hears of other gays through the propaganda machine of a monolithic heterosexual society, with its constant stream of anti-gay lies. Television, movies, books, all project the same image of an infinitesimal minority of limp-wristed faggots or masculine looking dykes.

In Health and Guidance classes one learns homosexuality is a perversion or a disease: in church one finds it is a sin: in the family one is indoctrinated into the 'virtues' of a heterosexual monogamous relationship, the role played out by the parents. Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that the young gay's peers, too, receive the same attitudes from the same sources. If they are male, they play the role of virility and male-chauvinist heterosexuality, including frequent denunciations of 'fags' or 'queers' — or if they are female, they play the role of the subservient sex-object, whose goal in life is to have a boy friend, with marriage the ultimate aim. Is it any wonder that young homosexuals, during this period of extreme peer-group conformity, end up themselves, as a smoke-screen so to speak, attempting to play out the very same roles, so inimical to their true sexuality.

The problems of young gays do not, of course, disappear after adolescence. In fact, it may take years before they can admit to themselves that they are gay -- and in our society, many people never succeed in doing even that. Once the admission is made, one is faced with the traumatic realization of spending one's life in a dangerous and hostile society. For many, this is the beginning of a life of self-hatred and insecurity.

Young gays undergo a unique legal oppression too. Despite all the liberal noise about the 'legalization' of homosexuality (and, by the way, it is still illegal for gays to immigrate to Canada or hold civil-service positions), homosexual love remains a criminal offense for people under the age of twenty-one. Trudeau's famous Bill -- which quite possibly marks the beginning and the end of liberal reform in this area, has not affected by one iota the position of gay youth, who are somehow expected to remain chaste until their twenty-first birthday, whereupon they can presumably revert to their 'Perversion'. The point to be made is that young gays have absolutely no legal rights, and under the law are classified as 'alienated youth'.

However, the present laws are not widely enforced -- but it is not in their enforcement wherein lies their significance. Certainly, many gays are legally harassed, through the application of a number of vague laws governing morality. But the vast majority of homosexuals, including young gays, are never bothered by those laws -- one reason being that it is only possible to apply them against the small percentage of gays who are open about their sexuality. The significance of the laws is that they **can** be applied -- they are symbolic of and part of the totality of society's repression of homosexuality, the aim of which is to keep the percentage of open gays to as small a figure as possible. The function of our laws and mores is to keep gays in the closet. The capitalist system, built on the foundation of the nuclear family, has everything to fear from a sexual preference that denies heterosexual monogamy -- and which therefore strikes at that foundation. That is why present society does everything it can to crush any open expression of homosexuality. And that is why the act of 'coming out'<sup>1</sup>, openly declaring oneself to be homosexual, is more than an act of insolence against reactionary morality -- it is a revolutionary act.

Now this is what more and more gays are doing, especially the younger ones -- refusing to succumb to the pressures that would keep them in the closet, and rebelling against bourgeois morality by declaring themselves openly. In the growing willingness of gay youth to 'come out' lies the potential of gay liberation. And this potential contains a profoundly anti-capitalist dynamic -- for as in the case of most oppressed groups, whose oppression stems from and is an integral part and requirement of the present social system, the emancipation of gays cannot attain fulfillment within capitalism.

Two further points need to be taken up on the question of "coming out."

The first is that gays who remain 'in the closet' are subject to a far more pernicious form of oppression than those who are open: for the former must live a completely schizoid existence, hiding their sex life and separating it from all their other activities.

The second is in reply to recommendation number five of the Plenum Report. Contrary to the implication found there, no gay ever comes out by having a cavalier or non-serious attitude! And no gay needs to be reminded of the implications of coming out in this society!

## **Gay Liberation in History**

Although this is a YS/LJS document, and thus primarily concerned with the student movement, we feel justified in including a section on the history of Gay Liberation. We are doing so because no such outline has yet appeared in a movement document. Besides this, its educational role, we feel this section necessary to clear up a misconception in the Plenum Report.

The Plenum Report says that, in contrast to the women's movement, Gay Liberation has had a very short history, and that therefore its potential is unclear. We reply that a consideration of the history of a movement is only one part of the analysis of its potential, and not the sole basis for such an analysis. We also reply that the Plenum Report is inaccurate when it implies that Gay Liberation has only the briefest of histories. Although never reaching the size of the Suffragist movements, past movements for homosexual emancipation cannot be discounted, as they are an indication of Gay Liberation's ability to involve large numbers of people.

The first homophile groups appeared in Europe in the 1890s. Of these, the biggest and most important was the movement organized by Magnus Hirschfeld in Germany. Throughout its twenty-three year history, this movement published a *Journal for Sexual Reform* which pressed for the repeal of anti-homosexual statutes. Understanding the need for gays to win their rights, the group drew up a petition to the Reichstag, and gained the signatures of several hundred physicians, professors, writers and intellectuals, among them Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein.

In England at about the same time, the group organized by Edward Carpenter, an early British socialist, gained much notoriety through its pamphlets and books on homosexuality. Carpenter mentions in his book *Homogenic Love* (published 1864) that it was through the feminist movement of that time that several women, especially in the U.S., were taking their places in the leadership as proclaimed lesbians.

The United States has a history of numerous homophile organizations. Among these was the 'Society for Human Rights', which in 1925 gained an Illinois state charter, and was the first organization to concentrate actively on gay rights. In 1936 emerged 'The Sons of Hamidy', and in 1945, several groups sprang up, even in places as remote as Phoenix, Arizona. For gay soldiers, there was the 'Veterans Benevolent Association' which lasted from 1945 to 1954.

A significant advance took place with the birth of the Mattachine Foundation in 1953. Along with the Daughters of Bilitis, founded in 1956, it exists to this day. Both organizations have established themselves as completely national in character and have contributed significantly to the Gay Liberation movement through educational campaigns and by their struggles for gay rights.

In the last two or three years, as part of the rising radicalization, Gay Liberation has made more impressive gains than it has in its entire previous history. We have witnessed how the gay movement has not been confined solely to the U.S. and Canada, but has emerged and grown in England, France, Sweden, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere,

and how it has taken on a more comprehensive character through its role in the antiwar movement, the Womens' Liberation movement and the student movement.

## **Gay Liberation in Canada**

Even the birth of Gay Liberation in Canada gave evidence of its ability to involve large numbers of people. It also pointed to Gay Liberation's role in the student movement. Two years ago, some gays at the University of Toronto got together to arrange a speaking engagement for Dr. Franklin Kameny, a leading figure of the New York Mattachine. Kameny was met by an audience of 700-800, who were brought out by a well-organized campaign publicizing the meeting. From this speaking engagement was born the University of Toronto Homophile Association. So rapid was the growth of the UTHA, that the administration threatened reprisals if the group did not prevent non-student gays from attending meetings.

Those gays who were not students formed the Community Homophile Association of Toronto (CHAT) , an organization largely devoted to providing dances and other gay social activities. CHAT has, however, demonstrated its capacity to move in a political direction, through its stopping of police harassment and its lobbying in parliament — although the perspective has not been mass action, but one of negotiating with the police and with bourgeois politicians.

By far the most progressive group in Toronto is 'Toronto Gay Action.' It has been involved in activities ranging from protests at the CBC, to campaigning for repeal of anti-homosexual sections of the Immigration Act. Its most significant political acts have been the formation of the gay contingents for November 6 and April 15, and the organization of the August 28 gay rights demonstration of 130 in Ottawa.

Other Gay Liberation organizations have been born in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Victoria, Halifax, Montreal and elsewhere. Here in Vancouver, Gay Liberation forces were first organized into the Gay Liberation Front. Although an essentially ultra-left organization it aroused tremendous interest, with meetings often packed to nearly one hundred. Actions centered around the Castle Hotel "Kiss-In" involving 30 to 40 people; picket lines at gay clubs banning entry to women; and speaking engagements in the high schools, where the speakers met with a good response from students.

Other groups subsequently emerged: the Canadian Gay Activists' Alliance (CGAA) , Gay Sisters, Gay Womens' Resource Centre, Gay People's Alliance at UBC, and the Vancouver Gay Alliance Towards Equality.

The Gay Alliance Towards Equality has been the most active of these groups. In the past year it has picketed for gay rights at the YMCA and at the Castle Hotel (both thoroughly anti-gay) and has campaigned for repeal of the anti-gay sections of the Immigration Act. (The petition drawn up for this purpose had a good response from the NDP and received the signature of the NDP candidate for Vancouver-Burrard).

Along with the proliferation of off-campus groups, Gay Liberation has

experienced impressive growth in the universities. The large homophile associations at U of T, Western, York, and Waterloo give ample evidence of this.

At UBC this semester saw the formation of the Gay People's alliance, which was able to draw twenty-five to thirty people to its meetings. Almost immediately after its launching, however, it was plunged into leadership crises, as the direction of the organization was tossed back and forth between the ultra-lefts and counter-culturalists. These crises resulted in the (*dispersal*) of the group's forces.

Despite its temporary failure to grow on B.C. campuses, Gay Liberation has been welcomed with alacrity in the high schools. This has mainly been through the form of speaking engagements arranged between GATE and the students. A good example is that which took place at Vincent Massey High School in March of this year. It was here that four hundred students came to hear the GATE speakers and to express their interest in what (other) gays are like and in what they are doing. However, bourgeois politicians were not slow in recognizing what this action meant: a rebellion against sexual repression. The very next day, the Socreds were denouncing the Gay Liberationists for "taking youth through the gamut of Life" — and the School Board, taking its cue, put a ban on all 'controversial' speakers for the duration of the year.

After this flare-up in the legislature, interest did not die down. A week later, a comrade who helped organize the meeting, and the chairman of GATE, were on radio defending the right of Gay Liberationists to air their views freely in the high schools. Seven high schools since that time have requested Gay Liberation speakers and the response by the students to them has always been favourable. GATE members have also spoken at UBC, SFU, and all the technical schools in greater Vancouver.

### **Problems of (our) Present Involvement With Gay Liberation**

It is insufficient to simply state that we Trotskyists support the struggles of all oppressed sectors of society. It is inadequate to simply say that we support Gay Liberation. While the latter statement is true, it is only true in one sense. One must ask oneself exactly how, at the present time, we support Gay Liberation. And we must be clear about the reply: we **morally** support Gay Liberation, and in no other respect. We do not support it materially, as we have no orientation towards it. While it is true that some comrades **on their own initiative** participate in Gay organizations, we as an organization do not undertake to guide or build the Gay movement. We do not support it materially. What about propagandistically? Although the Plenum Report endorses propagandistic support for Gay Liberation, we feel that this has not been undertaken adequately. One has only to note the silence in our press about the demonstration of 130 Gay militants on Parliament Hill last summer. So let us be clear: our movement as yet offers only moral support to Gay Liberation.

The character of our relationship towards Gay Liberation flows naturally from our lack of an orientation to it. Our participation is characterized, firstly, by a lack of **consistency**. The most obvious symptom of this lack of consistency is irregularity in attendance of meetings. Even those two or three comrades most devoted to the cause of Gay Liberation are not able to avoid frequent absenteeism, as Gay Liberation is the

lowest of their priorities. This is not to suggest it is the lowest of their personal priorities — often the very opposite — but rather that their regular assignments in other fields take precedence over and often conflict with their involvement in Gay Liberation.

The problem is greater in the case of those comrades not devoted to Gay Liberation. Certain of these comrades attend meetings only sporadically and infrequently. Often they attend as a group and are identifiable as Trotskyists. Seldom do they contribute to the discussion, instead sitting through the meetings in silence — small wonder, as without an orientation, we have nothing to contribute. We can contribute only little to meetings, because we have no interest in building and directing Gay Liberation — whereas the central task of every meeting **IS** the building and direction of Gay Liberation!

When we discuss the conduct of comrades at Gay Liberation meetings, let there be no misunderstanding. We are not criticizing them, personally in any way whatsoever. Their silence at meetings and their infrequent attendance result inevitably from our lack of an orientation to Gay Liberation. The participation of members of our movement cannot be qualitatively different until our movement adopts a perspective for building Gay Liberation.

In the anti-war or abortion repeal movements we Trotskyists are respected for our consistency, zeal, and leadership qualities. Yet what a difference in Gay Liberation! Activists at a Gay meeting see a group of people whom they identify as Trotskyists -- yet who say nothing, and are there one week and gone the next! Can one wonder if such gay activists construe our conduct as displaying non-seriousness, lack of interest or even hostility towards Gay Liberation? This is no metaphysical question, as there has already been friction between certain gay militants and certain comrades around the question of our faltering and inconsistent involvement.

From this flows the additional question of how we should, and are, presenting ourselves as socialists in the Gay Movement. Naturally, we must never be afraid to pose ourselves as socialists — we are proud of it, and our primary task in the YS/LJS today is the spreading of socialist ideas and the building of our student movement. We must put forward socialist propaganda at every propitious moment. This is the policy of the movement, with which we completely agree. But the policy of the movement is more than this. It is also a consideration of **how** to advance our socialist ideas. We do not at all times and at all places blindly distribute our press and advance openly Marxist ideas, qua Marxist ideas. The opportuneness of propagandizing and the manner in which we do it is carefully considered.

The manner in which we do it is determined by the role we are playing in a given situation. Certainly, we want to win people to socialism and to our movement. Yet when we are involved in any movement, on whatever level, of **primary** importance to us must be the success and growth of that movement. To view things otherwise would be sectarian and opportunistic. This is basic Trotskyist politics, and is one of the things that differentiates us from other tendencies on the left, who exploit various struggles only as areas to propagandize for their own organizations. On the other hand, let us have no confusion: if the question be posed to us, "Which is more important to you — a certain

mass movement or your own movement?" -- we should have to honestly reply, "Our own movement." But we should also reply that the question is artificially posed, as the growth and success of the mass movements themselves is not just the best, but the **only** way to ensure the growth and development of our own. Our movement does not exist in a vacuum, but is dialectically integrated with all areas of radicalization.

It is this perspective of non-sectarianism, coupled with a desire to build and lead, that must mark our participation in any movement. The extent and importance of our participation matters not: wherever we go, in whatever movement, no matter the size of our attendance, we *are* Trotskyists, and we are seen by others as participating in the *capacity* of Trotskyists. Thus we must act as Trotskyists. We therefore spread our socialist ideas — but we do not participate just to spread our socialist ideas. We participate to build. If we do not participate sincerely, if we do not participate to build, we will not have the credibility or the respect of the movement in which we are operating -- and neither will our socialist ideas. We cannot participate in any movement just to win people over to socialism and to our movement. That cannot work, because they will see our movement as being unconcerned with their interests, and only concerned with its own ends.

Yet what is our role in Gay Liberation? We have a role there right now, as we are participating in it. True, part of that role is as observers, evaluating the development of Gay Liberation. This is the good aspect of our present role — although in this we are greatly handicapped, as passive observers are nowhere near as able to feel out a movement as effectively as leading participants. But what about the other aspect of our role in Gay Liberation? On the one hand, comrades in Gay Liberation are directed to disseminate socialist ideas, which includes the distribution of our press. They are told that we want to win the best Gay militants to our movement. But on the other hand, they are told that we have no perspective for building Gay Liberation. They are told that we do not undertake to lead Gay Liberation — which means in practice that no comrade can assume a leadership position (secretary, chairperson, etc.) — making us Trotskyists the only participants unable to do so. It also means that we do not attempt to influence the politics of Gay organizations. We take no role of guidance or of building. The work that our comrades have been able to do, given our present line, is purely on personal initiative. The effect of our present line on Gay Liberation has been to make us observers, non-serious participants, and people interested solely in attracting gay militants to socialist ideas.

Can we really expect to successfully spread our ideas, which are represented by a press with few articles on Gay Liberation, making it seemingly irrelevant to Gay Liberationists? Can we really expect to recruit gay militants to an organization that does not materially support Gay Liberation — which would mean, in effect, reducing the ranks of Gay Liberation by removing activists from leadership roles in their movement? And can we really expect to do any of these things, or be accepted with credibility, if we refuse to give any serious support to Gay Liberation?

## Some Arguments Against an Orientation

We feel it necessary to briefly take up some of the current arguments advanced

against an orientation towards Gay Liberation. We will not take up the most blatantly unfounded arguments – such as the formalistic and opportunistic one that Gay Liberation alienates the working class – as such opinions are no longer widely held in the movement.

One of the most frequent arguments against an orientation centres around the catch-phrases 'but consider the political realities' or 'look at the objective situation'. That is sometimes the extent of the argument, as some are unwilling or unable to elucidate what they mean by these vague statements. We do, indeed, carefully consider the political realities -- this document itself is a consideration of the 'political realities' – and it is from our analysis of the 'objective situation' that we draw our conclusions. We can only wonder at the vagueness of these platitudes. But then, again, frequently the argument is pursued, and eventually boils down to the opinion that 'the political realities are that Gay Liberation is not a mass movement'. Here it is a lack of credibility due, in part, to conservatism and the supposed novelty of Gay Liberation. The problem of comrades hung up on this point is one of a lack of balance and perspective. The term 'mass movement' is often inadequately defined, especially insofar as it applies to our areas of intervention. Without being cynical, may we suggest that at least from one point of view, none of our areas of intervention, **at the present time**, can be classified as 'mass movements' -- in the sense that they do not involve thousands of people in action. While it is true that these same movements take on the character of mass movements (in the sense just mentioned) at certain times (e.g. Amchitka -- rare!) and in certain places (e.g. anti-war demonstrations in Washington -- but consider, too, Christopher Street demonstrations in New York!) -- in the day-to-day, month-to-month and even year-to-year work of our movement, they are mass movements only in the particular sense we give to the word -- i.e., areas of intervention that can, and sometimes in the future (according to careful analysis) **will** involve great masses of people. In the meantime, there are areas where we, as activists operate, working with, and very often outnumbering people not in our movement. Why is it that an abortion law repeal meeting with twenty people present is a mass movement, an anti-war meeting with fifteen people present is a mass movement, yet a Gay Liberation meeting with fifteen or twenty or twenty-five people present is **not** a mass movement? The answer is that in the case of the former two comrades think dialectically -- i.e., correctly understand the potential growth and development of the movements concerned, analyse their dynamic, their potential, and their future -- while in the latter case, some comrades think as formalists, considering that what transpired at the last Gay Liberation meeting is indicative of Gay Liberation throughout the world and into the indefinite future.

Another objection to an orientation is that we don't know the direction of Gay Liberation, as it is such a 'new movement'. This is another example of a failure to analyse dialectically. The direction of Gay Liberation is towards emancipation of gay people. There is an **irreconcilable** contradiction between the needs and aspirations of gay people and what capitalist society can offer them. This means, as has been pointed out earlier, that Gay Liberation has an anti-capitalist dynamic. It also means that as long as that contradiction exists (i.e. until socialist society), Gay Liberation will be with us -- and, like all other movements of the oppressed, must grow, coalesce with the others, and culminate in socialist revolution .

If the lack of a complete program for Gay Liberation be another objection, remember that a program is derived by participation in a movement and is thrashed out in action -- as was the case with our intervention in Women's Liberation.

Another argument against an orientation is one of allocation of resources. It is argued that given our slender resources, we must be very careful where we invest them. Our cadre must work in fields where the benefits to the movement, and to the radicalization in general, will be greatest. With this position we most heartily agree. But there are those who, using this correct position as a basis for their argument, somehow manage to conclude that, therefore, we cannot afford to spare comrades for the area of Gay Liberation. The failure of this argument is obvious. The question of the allocation of resources is a **secondary** one. If an area of the radicalization is found to be worthy of an intervention, after an analysis of its potential dynamic, and importance relative to our other areas of intervention -- the question of resources is automatically resolved. We insert our cadres in the area in direct proportion to the benefits to be had, both for the growth of our movement and for the growth of the movement concerned. Needless to say, the key is **flexibility** -- and this points out the absurdity of the position of those who surmise a sudden and complete disappearance of all gay comrades into gay liberation the moment we adopt an orientation.

Another objection sometimes posed is that "we cannot jump in and support every new movement that comes along. There are, after all, other movements besides Gay Liberation in which we are not involved -- such as the anti-pollution movement and the (*Native*) Red Power movement." While this in itself is correct, comrades who advance this argument are ignoring some very important questions, such as the presence of large numbers of gay people in all sectors of society. Similarly, one of the reasons for wanting an orientation is that we gay people are present in very large numbers in our own movement -- whereas, for example, there are virtually no Native people. And whereas the question of pollution is an important one -- we gays suffer from it like anyone else -- we suffer much more from our sexual oppression. Now because of our numbers, the movement has the human resources necessary for a successful intervention in Gay Liberation. And it is only natural that we should want to fight against our own oppression.

Furthermore, it is inadequate to say that as socialists working towards revolution, we are serving the cause of Gay Liberation, which can only reach fruition in a socialist society. Although true, we must remember that socialism only lays the groundwork for gay emancipation -- it does not guarantee it. Anti-gay prejudice in Cuba is sufficient evidence of this. Thus an independent and strong Gay Liberation movement is essential. We, as gay Trotskyists, want to work in it.

## Why an Orientation

Let us now reiterate and stress some of the main elements of our argument.

- 1.) The potential of Gay Liberation is clear. It has great potential, due to the large numbers of gay people in our society -- 10 to 20 percent, depending on how one

interprets the (conservative) statistics. Its potential is due also to the growing willingness of gays to 'come out'.

**2.) Gay Liberation has a revolutionary dynamic. This stems from the contradiction between homosexuality and the patriarchal family. The family is an essential economic institution of capitalism, without which the system could not survive. Capitalism needs the family for its pool of cheap labour (women), and for its role in raising children, taking the onus to do so off of society. Therefore people must be made to live in families. But what, exactly, does force people into this unhappy social arrangement? One thing that does so is reactionary and repressive sexual morality, with its ideal of perfect monogamy and with its prohibition of homosexuality. This is inculcated into people through all the instruments of bourgeois ideology. Yet if people understood the reactionary role of this morality, if they understood their sexual repression, they would rebel. Now that is exactly what gays, like women are doing: they are understanding their oppression, and rebelling. They are learning that they can be equal and free only in a society where everyone can choose with whom they will live and for how long, irrespective of economic considerations -- that is, in a society where the family need no longer exist -- in a socialist society (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

3.) Gay Liberation has proven its ability to mobilize large numbers of people. We have shown the fallacy of the categorization that it is not a mass movement. It is an integral and important part of the radicalization, and in the Vanguard of the Sexual Revolution.

4.) Our present involvement in Gay Liberation, determined by the line of the Plenum Report, suffers from an insoluble contradiction. We are both participating and we are not participating. We attend meetings, yet we are formally restricted from leading meetings. We propagandize, yet we have little justification for propagandizing, as we do not build the gay movement. As Trotskyists, we are a movement of leaders, but in Gay Liberation we are condemned to be followers. We are in limbo, in a sort of political "Never Never Land," victims of an ambiguity that can be resolved only by making a definite choice -- to participate and lead or not to participate at all. We want to participate and lead, and therefore we are proposing an orientation.

5.) Many comrades have said that the moment is not ripe for an orientation to Gay Liberation. They have stated that due to its embryonic form, we can only stand back and watch its growth and development. But we reply that nothing can be gained -- indeed, there is everything to lose -- if we sit back passively and 'watch' this movement. We feel that far more knowledge of it can be gained through **active** participation in it. As Trotskyists, we must not ignore revolutionary opportunities which fall into our hands. We must use these opportunities to the fullest in order to advance our movement and the radicalization as a whole.

6.) Given the potential of Gay Liberation and the great interest in it, we feel that its failures and setbacks, where they have occurred, can be attributed to a lack of consistent leadership, as was indicated in our section on Gay Liberation in Canada. Nevertheless, we must note Gay Liberation's viability and growth **even without** the sort of consistent and correct leadership that we can provide. We therefore believe that if we Trotskyists

provide that subjective factor of leadership, we shall see a gay movement ever more growing and vital.

## Proposals for Adoption

1.) The first draft resolution submitted by the Executive Council of the Y.S./L.J.S. for the 1972 convention, entitled 'The Nature and Challenge of the Youth Radicalization', states: "The revolutionaries of the Y.S./L.J.S. embrace this radicalization. We know that the struggles of women, Québécois, students, gays and others are not a passing phenomena or mere groupings of people around 'issues' as the sectarians argue. All of these movements have an anti-capitalist dynamic..." We are in agreement with this assessment, but feel nevertheless that the draft resolution makes insufficient mention of Gay Liberation as part of the student movement, and fails to analyze its role therein. Gay youth suffers from a unique oppression within the context of the oppression of youth in general. Gay Liberation plays and will continue to play an ever increasing role in the youth radicalization, and is an integral part thereof. This we cannot ignore.

The draft resolution includes demands calling for the availability of free birth control information and devices in the schools, and for coeducational sex education beginning in public school. It is in the spirit of these demands that we propose additional demands, also centering around youth sexuality. We propose that certain demands relative to Gay Liberation be included in our list of demands for the student movement.

We therefore propose for adoption by the convention the following amendment to the aforementioned draft resolution:

(“) That the said draft resolution be so amended so as to include in our program of demands for the student movement specific demands pertinent to Gay Liberation, which would include the following:

-- Teach the truth about homosexuality -- in the curriculum, and by opening the doors to speakers from gay organizations.

-- For the right of all students to express their sexuality.(“)

2.) We call upon the Y.S./L.J.S., as a student movement, to adopt an orientation to Gay Liberation. We propose that the Y.S./L.J.S. gear itself to intervene in Gay Liberation on campuses and in high schools, and to integrate it into its work in the student movement. With this our view, we propose the following for adoption by the movement, with the perspective that the leadership work out the specifics of its practical application.

(“) That gay comrades be assigned, through Gay Liberation fractions, to work within campus homophile groups, to pose themselves as leaders in them, and to carry the civil rights program put forward by the Gay Liberation movement.(“)

3.) The Plenum Report, with which the Y.S./L.J.S. solidarizes itself, states as its first recommendation: "We support the fight for gay civil liberties -- in our press, our education work, forums, etc." With this we agree, and recommend that the stated policy of press propagandizing be vigorously pursued.

However, particularly in the field of education, we feel that press coverage has been inadequate. We should like to mention the most recent issue of the *Young Socialist* (July-August) which carries a cover story dealing with the true history of the Indian people. Although welcome, we must recognize that our press does not reach an Indian milieu, and that the function of this article is to educate white students. Yet comparable educational coverage of homosexuality and Gay Liberation would reach the people directly concerned -- large numbers of gay students. In our readership, there are far more gays than Indians, and while Gay Liberation is part of the student radicalization, Indian Liberation is not. The *Young Socialist*, as a student paper, cannot ignore this. We are not criticizing educational coverage of the history of the Indian people, but we are recommending frequent educational articles pertinent to gays.

We therefore propose the following resolutions for adoption by the movement:

(“) 1.) That we frequently include in our press educational articles concerning anthropological, cultural, historical and other aspects of homosexuality, gay oppression and Gay Liberation.

2.) That we reaffirm and vigorously pursue our policy of reporting on all developments and activities of importance in the Gay Liberation movement.(“)

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# THE NDP AND THE STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

## *The first ten years*

*"Thesis written by R.D." note by R.D. on typed cover page (some pencil notes on original by Prof. Penner)*

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### **The NDP and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada**

..."It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root, and embrace as much as possible the whole American proletariat, than that it should start and proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes. And for a whole large class, there is no other road, especially for a nation

so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class; that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, Henry George or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small sects of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without but to be revolutionized from within."

*(From a letter that Engels wrote to the American socialist Florence Kelly, December 28, 1886)*

## 1) THE FORMATION OF THE NDP (1958-1961)

With the 1958 joint call for "a new party" by the leadership of the just-united Canadian Labour Congress and the officers of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the struggle over the character and role of what was to become the NDP began.

Should it be a party seeking office to legislate extensive economic and social reforms within the existing framework of Canadian capitalist society? Should it be a party committed to the winning of political office for the establishment of a fundamentally new social order? Could it even take off as a revolutionary party, not a "labour party" of the British type, but a mass political expression of the working class that, given a favorable conjuncture, would be a movement of revolutionary action?

Or indeed, should it be a party at all? Perhaps it should be a pressure force on the other existing political parties so that one of them would hopefully respond to the needs of the people. Or should it attempt to serve as a catalyst for some kind of new progressive alignment of forces?

**From the years 1958 to 1961 and the Ottawa convention, that was the gamut of the debate. With its founding as an independent party based on the trade unions the decisive question in this debate was resolved. With that the NDP crossed what could be said to be the Rubicon. The NDP became a key element for a whole historic period in the radicalization of the Canadian working class which can only find solution in the establishment of a socialist Canada (emphasis by the Web ed.)**

Thus while the debate continues to rage on, it is now in a totally different context than it was in 1958-1961 — it is inside of and around a party with a substantial base of support in the ranks of the working class that is seeking political power. Now it involves the key question of program. And it now involves the organization of those forces who have grasped some of the essential elements of that program so that they can win to their side those contingents of the working class, both inside the NDP itself and those looking at it from the outside, often critically and from even a more left vantage point -- all those elements in Canadian society to whom the NDP is now clearly an integral part of their continued political development.

Just last month the Ontario New Democratic Party leadership launched a sharp attack on a strong left wing current within the party, the so-called Waffle — committed, as the title of its founding manifesto spells out, to fight in the NDP and on the Canadian political scene "For an Independent and Socialist Canada." The resolution adopted by the Ontario provincial council in March 1972 by a vote of 157 to 62 expressed "grave anxiety... at the emergence of a distinct group within the party... with structures and policies separate and different from those of the party." Provincial leader Stephen Lewis red-baited the Waffle as providing "a forum for extremists like Maoists and Trotskyists, whose views are not dissent but destruction, not ideological but pathological." (*Stephen Lewis' speech to March 18 Provincial Council meeting reprinted in the Ontario New Democrat March-April 1972*)

There seems to be no question whatsoever that the NDP, for the entire next period, is inextricably locked into the struggle for a socialist Canada.

It did not, in 1961, at its founding convention in Ottawa take the path of some kind of pressure organization, as a ginger group at the side of or inside of one of the existing political parties, e.g., the capitalist Liberal party. The Liberal party had sedulously fostered illusions that it was a party of Liberal and even pro-labor and working class opinion. During and following the war these illusions were heightened by the Communist party's open support of the Liberal party (see Gad Horowitz' *Canadian Labor and Politics*). The Trades and Labor Congress (AFL--the [US] American Federation of Labor --ed.) officially endorsed the King government in 1945. Liberal leader Louis St. Laurent in a well publicized statement said that there was no real or substantial difference between the Liberal party and the CCF. "The CCF are Liberals in a hurry." And it did not become a catalyst for, or a part of, some new democratic national coalition, although there were important forces attempting to direct it that way in the crucial debates of 1958 to 1961.

On the one hand there were elements of the leadership of the trade union movement, largely concentrated in the international craft unions dominated by "roadmen" — appointees of the U.S. based union leadership. And on the other hand there were the once influential, but now rapidly declining forces organized as the Communist Party of Canada.

This is how one labor reporter saw the debate shaping up at that time. "The Canadian unionists are not seeking a 'Labour Party' such as exists in Great Britain and the creation of which has long been opposed in the United States. Instead they are seeking a coalition of liberal groups in all levels of Canadian life that will draw the line sharply between liberals and conservatives regardless of party name."

The same reporter had this to say about the contribution of David Lewis, now leader of the NDP: "He pointed out that labor leaders themselves were strongly in favor, not of a 'Labor Party' as such but a movement embracing all progressive groups." (*Reported in the Record, Aug. 17, 1958, official organ of the International Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union – AFL-CIO*)

The Communist Party sought to influence the NDP to become "a democratic national coalition of patriotic forces for peace, Canadian independence, and social progress." It even advised those pressing for an independent party with a socialist policy:

"We suggest that they consider the constituency that the NDP is designed to represent and upon which it must be based." There already is a "party of socialism in Canada," they pontificated, "that is the Communist Party." (*See Communist Party's National Executive Committee Statement and comments in Canadian Tribune, Aug. 28, and Pacific Tribune, Sept. 1, 1961.*)

The forces for an independent political party, who got the New Democratic Party underway were widely disparate both in their size and influence and in their fundamental or long range aims.

The most influential elements were the CCF parliamentarians, with the remnants of the CCF constituency organizations, and key elements of the trade union leadership, particularly those in key industrial concentrations such as steel and auto, with their organized structures including the political action committees, and union funds.

The latter, many of whom had previously been supporters of the CCF were being joined by new forces from the trade unions -- new elements from the shop floors, secondary layers of the union leadership and even top leaders of unions that up until recently had steered clear of political involvement. They were being goaded by an all-out legislative attack by one provincial government after another, designed to restrain the unions from winning wage increases and improved conditions, from conducting united actions with other unions, and from organizing unorganized sections of the work force.

Newfoundland Premier Smallwood's smashing of the efforts of the International Wood Workers of America (CLC-AFL-CIO) to organize the impoverished loggers in that province in the Spring of 1959, his vicious attacks on established trade union leaders as "highwaymen and outlaws", as "gangsters" and "paid representatives of pimps," his incitement of vigilantes, and his employment of the RCMP which resulted in the death of a constable and murder charges against a striker, and his enactment of the most repressive anti-labor legislation on the continents -- were an important factor in the decision of new elements in the trade union movement to throw their weight behind the construction of an independent political party.

The New Party clubs, designed to attract persons outside of the CCF and the unions, "Liberals with a small 'l' and progressives from the Progressive Conservatives", as CLC president Jodoin expressed it, brought in modest numbers of professional white collar and petty bourgeois, disillusioned by the Liberal party's support of the cold war and the Diefenbaker government's switch to acceptance of nuclear arms on Canadian soil.

Ironically it was the conscious, socialist left that was least prepared to participate in the formation and the shaping of policy of the New Party.

For some years the CCF leadership had been steadily moving to the right — but not without considerable opposition. An important rallying point for the left had been the party's founding statement of purposes called the *Regina Manifesto*. Written in the depth of the depression it committed the party to fundamental social change. The second paragraph of the manifesto read:

"We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible.... We believe that these evils of capitalism can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people."

The section on External Relations states: "We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars.... Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism." And the *Manifesto* ends: "No CCF government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth."

The long, ebbing and flowing fight of the CCF left wing that had polarized around the banner of the *Regina Manifesto* came to a close at the Winnipeg convention of 1956. There, a new manifesto replacing the *Regina Manifesto* which had long been a dead letter in the real life of the movement, was adopted. In the spirit of a statement by M.J. Coldwell that "capitalism is a tolerable system" it declared that "there will be need for private enterprise" and that "the co-operative commonwealth will therefore provide appropriate opportunities for private business as well as publicly-owned industry." The adoption of the *Winnipeg Declaration* wrote finish to the CCF left. There were brave words uttered by some about restructuring the CCF but they came to nothing. Only a few scattered elements of this Left which had no structured form independent of the CCF itself, responded to the challenge of the new party as it began to take on structured form.

The only organized socialist current that identified with the New Party were the Socialist Educational League of Toronto and the Socialist Information Center in Vancouver — known among the Left as Trotskyists. They were knit together with co-thinkers across the country through their press *Workers Vanguard*.

The Trotskyists had long held a position of critical but unconditional support to the CCF. In 1948, they concluded that the CCF had completed a transition from a basically agrarian protest movement to a labor party formation. As early as May 1958,

the editors of *Workers Vanguard* speculated that the secret machinations being conducted by the CCF and CLC leaderships would probably mean the formation of "a broad genuine farmer-labor party." With that the Trotskyists became all-out advocates of this emerging labor party.

Typical was an article in the Mid-July 1961 issue of *Workers' Vanguard*, entitled; "Join and Build the New Party Now." It addressed itself particularly to "all socialists, no matter what their tendency."

We think that it is worth quoting at length as it reveals how the only socialists who supported the New Party even prior to its founding convention saw the dynamics of the party.... which is the subject of this essay.

**It characterized the founding of the party as "the most important event in the history of the tumultuous struggle of the Canadian people for political and social justice."**

**It stated that the aim of Canadian revolutionary socialists, no matter under what form they functioned has always been "the launching of the whole working class, and getting it moving forward as a class in the right direction... With the founding of the new party based on the trade unions, the primary organization of the working class, this aim has been realized** (*emphasis by the Web ed.*)

"We cannot say at this time with what degree of political clarity this new labor party will be launched. It is probable that the efforts of this left wing at this time to win the party to a class struggle program and a socialist policy will be only moderately successful. But the main thing is that, now, following this convention, the working people of this country will be moving forward as a class, with a political party of their own.

"With that they will commence to learn how to combat the capitalist class and their political leadership, the Tories and Liberals. With that they will be able to test the contending viewpoints within the party."

While they threw their slender resources into building the New Party, in particular trying to convince socialists to join in, at the same time the Trotskyists fused their two main forces and launched the League for Socialist Action. **They explained this with the comment that "such a development as the New Party is too precious to be left in the hands of the present leadership of trade unions and those whose policies led to their burying the CCF. To realize the possibilities inherent in it, the new party needs a class struggle program and a socialist perspective"** (*emphasis by the Web ed.*)

The League was depicted as "an important beginning for the building of a national

force that could appeal to socialists, trade union militants, and new layers of workers and youth who are being attracted to the new party and who know, or will yet become aware, that it must adopt a socialist program.

**"But as it's name implies the League will not rest content with merely advancing ideas. As an integral part of the new labor party it will attempt to mobilize the forces of the new party into action — anti-capitalist, socialist action***(emphasis by the Web ed.)*

"That is what the new party must be — a party that will not only organize the Canadian working class but will give leadership and direction and will win the power. That is what the League wants it to do. To realize this aim the League for Socialist Action must be built from coast to coast."

## **2) THE FOUNDING CONVENTION -- August 1961**

The New Party got underway at the 1961 Ottawa convention with great promise. There were some 1,801 voting delegates — 681 of them from union bodies affiliated to 49 national or international unions, 707 delegates represented the CCF, and 248 represented New Party clubs. Significantly some 200 delegates came from Quebec.

But at the same time as this convention demonstrated great promises it also revealed the explosive contradictions lodged within the New Democratic party.

T.C. Douglas in his acceptance speech as leader, to tremendous applause, declared his acceptance of "the Prime Minister's challenge of fighting an election on the issue of socialism versus free enterprise." But immediately after his election in an interview with a Southam press reporter he described as the objective of the party, not a socialist society at all but the "establishment of a welfare state.... as in Britain and the Scandinavian countries or Israel" (*T.C. Douglas speech extracted in Workers' Vanguard, Mid-August, 1961.*)

At the same time as the founding convention revealed the promise of the New Democratic party, it also revealed profound contradictions that are built right into it, explosive and irreconcilable contradictions which render it incapable of being itself an instrument for realizing a Socialist Canada, but rather a vehicle on the forward march to its realization. It is both on the way and in the way towards the making of a revolution in Canada.

Contrary to superficial appearances and claims by some of its components, the new party was open-ended both in membership and ideology. Its structure was clearly defined on several planes. Coldwell once described the CCF as a movement of men and women of good-will. Of course, it did not exist in a vacuum -- it came together, perhaps on various degrees of understanding, but nonetheless with a clear rejection of the concept that the Liberal, Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties were useful

instruments. It was formed in opposition against them and in contest with them for office on all levels. It was not formed out of some explosive rupture of a cross-Canada character that had to sort itself out, but found itself through the joint efforts of two influential and well-defined forces — the CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress — the leadership of which had clearly marked out physiognomies and objectives.

The CCF existed in the form at one pole of associations constituted on a riding basis and at the other, on the old CCF parliamentary caucus. The riding associations were largely electoral apparatuses whose purpose with the call of an election was to deliver the vote and strengthen the parliamentary caucus, ultimately to enable it to take office.

The CCF leadership was completely parliamentarist, completely electoralist. Parliament and parliament alone was the path of social change. In so far as it was even aware of the Marxist concept that parliament is only a facade to cover the nakedness of a state apparatus constructed to defend bourgeois property by force and violence if necessary and at best a propaganda platform for the working class opposition, the CCF leadership completely rejected this formulation. The future of Canadian society according to them was to be determined ultimately by winning the majority of the seats in the House of Commons which, when it passed the necessary legislation, the Canadian capitalist class would accept as a gambler the fall of the dice.

This gave the decisive authority to the parliamentary caucus rather than to the periodic conventions of the party membership. The latter had essentially an advisory position. While it was the function of the constituency associations to win votes it was the function of the Canadian people to go to the ballot box when the party in power declared it time to mark an "X" opposite a recommended name.

With such concepts politics for the CCF leadership became not one of objective analysis of the crisis in society and the development and popularization of a program reflecting the needs of the majority of the population, the working people and their mobilization to carry it through, but of searching out formulas and gimmicks that would win friends and influence people. It tried to sense what would win votes and suppressed anything that might be considered likely to lose votes. The CCF leadership came to the convention already largely a homogeneous force in the realm of program, with the added prestige of already being in place — in parliament, where everything was to be resolved.

The other influential and organized force that came to the convention was the leadership of the key sectors of the Canadian Labour Congress. Some of them had risen in the union movement after having already been in the CCF apparatus; others had recently swung over, largely in response to the combined employer-government anti-labor drive. They brought with them an apparatus formed on a day-to-day basis of conflict with employers, and considerable material resources. While they tended to talk more militantly than the CCF leadership, in general they saw eye to eye with them.

While prominent spokespersons from both the CCF and the trade union leadership on occasion identified themselves as socialists, it was seldom, if ever, with any class

struggle concepts — it seldom transcended humanist , and socialism was almost always presented as some distant and ultimate objective never related to any immediate aspects of the struggle.

While in numbers in the sea of delegates, the CCF and Trade union leadership were relatively small, they were a homogeneous force, with articulate and established figures, they were well-organized and they knew what they wanted.

At the other pole were the socialists, the Marxian conscious socialists. They were considerably fewer in numbers. They covered a wide spectrum of opinion — spanning positions all the way from what could be called the orthodox Marxists, the small number associated with the League for Socialist Action and former members or sympathizers of the crisis-ridden Communist Party of Canada, to left-reformists in motion toward becoming social democrats.

Among them were a few well established figures -- Michel Chartrand, Dorothy Steeves, Colin Cameron. They were unable to unite as an effective force other than somewhat uneasily behind Hazen Argue, a longstanding CCF M.P. who unexpectedly presented himself as the left in the contest with T.C. Douglas for federal leader of the party.

In between these two poles were the large body of delegates. The bulk of them had been to previous CCF or CLC conventions but there were many fresh forces inspired by the possibilities of a new party with a firm basis of support in the union movement. And there were a scattering of youth especially student youth, the forerunners of the new radicalization that was appearing on the horizon.

One of the key debates at the convention was on the program of the new party. The draft preamble had met such opposition in the various areas of pre-convention discussion that a new draft was presented — it was said to have been drawn up by Frank Scott, one of the authors of the Regina Manifesto, and was alleged to be a "vast improvement."

Instead of a class analysis of Canadian society, an identification with the struggles of the working class and a commitment to public ownership and a planned economy, the preamble to the program identified with those "who put human rights and human dignity above the mere pursuit of wealth, and public welfare before corporate power."

While some delegates frontally opposed those who sought to commit the movement to replacement of capitalism with a new social order, others such as T.C. Douglas intervened to win approval of the preamble by appealing to the powerful sentiment in the convention for unity and to get on with the job. The debate burst out anew on the section entitled "Jobs for All," when delegates challenged how this aim could be realized without a struggle for a 30-hour (work-)week with 40 hours pay and ultimately through workers control and ownership of the basic means of production.

One delegate frankly stated that rather than a labor or socialist party the new party should be a new liberal party. The name chosen by the party was obviously an attempt to establish a forward image within an orthodox framework through cashing in on the widespread illusions at the time about John F. Kennedy, leader of the capitalist Democratic Party, and President of the U.S. But the leadership adopted a more subtle approach in order to carry its liberal-reformist line. Steel leader William Sefton suggested that the party would do what was necessary. Paraphrasing a famous statement of William Lyon Mackenzie King he said -- "we too are for socialism if necessary, but not necessarily for socialism."

In his acceptance speech, T.C. Douglas' main pitch was: "This is not the time to argue about right wing or left wing; this is the time to unite all our forces for the task which lies ahead" (*extracted from Workers' Vanguard, mid-August 1961*).

**The sharpest debate was not on the overall objective of the party which for many seemed abstract and unrelated to the immediate challenge before the party but on Canada's continued membership in the cold-war NATO military alliance. Of the 24 resolutions on the question 22 were for immediate Canadian withdrawal from NATO —the position adopted by the last CCF convention only the year before. With incredible cynicism T.C. Douglas, just elected as leader of the party, intervened in the debate to blackmail the delegates by placing his resignation on the table. He made it clear that as leader he had no intention of accepting a policy which was anti-NATO. "After all," he said, "it is I who will have to explain the policy" (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

Thus the New Democratic Party got underway. Not as a party casting Canada in a new role on the world political arena -- speaking up as an anti-war, anti-NATO force, but committed to continue the Liberal-Tory alignment of the Canadian people behind a foreign policy of defence of capitalism on the European continent and colonialism in Africa and Asia. Not as a party with a class struggle program and a socialist objective but with a peaceful co-existence with Canadian capitalism program and, where it is defined at all, a patchwork of piecemeal reforms.

### 3) THE EARLY YEARS – 1961-1963

Various forces amongst the left drew different balance sheets of the Founding convention. With his failure to win the leadership Hazen Argue not only broke from the NDP but crossed the house to join the Liberal party and eventually found a seat in the Senate. (B.C. MP) Colin Cameron after years as a spokesman for the socialist viewpoint in the party became one of the leading official voices of the Douglas-Lewis leadership's positions in the House of Commons, while another B.C. M.P. Bert Herridge moved more consistently to the left in the NDP.

The editors of *Workers' Vanguard* took assurance, despite the defeat of the left in the conviction that "the new labor party comes onto the scene at a time of developing crisis at home and a rising curve of successful anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggles abroad.

"Nothing," they said, "neither demagogic of the leadership nor bureaucratic restraints on the rank and file can shelter the new party from these events. Already the leadership's policies are being riddled with fissures. Subsequent events are certain to reveal their falseness to ever-widening ranks of the Canadian working class who are looking to the new party to meet their needs and aspirations. At long last," they concluded," the working class of Canada has a mass political party of its own. It is within this party, through their experiences in struggle with the capitalist class and their political lackeys in the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit parties, that they will test the contending views and through which they forge the leadership which will construct a socialist Canada of peace and plenty."

In the next few months the founding conventions of various provincial sections of the NDP came off with the same high enthusiasm and confidence as did the federal Convention.

However the first tests of the NDP at the polls in five by-elections in populous Ontario failed to meet the anticipations of many, including veterans of CCF campaigns who thought that increased funds, glossier and slicker campaign literature and the image of victory would work. The NDP leadership's election strategy was based on the concept that the Liberal party was on the decline that there would be a polarization between the NDP and the Tories in government which would see Liberal votes swing to the NDP. The labor vote was thought to be in a bag. This strategy was used to justify the removal of even the least hint of socialism from the party's campaign, and to try to appear as alike the Liberal party as possible to ease this anticipated massive shift.

But the NDP vote increased only marginally over the old CCF vote — in some polls the NDP failed to even match that. On top of that the Liberals underwent a resurgence.

Attempts were made to explain this failure as being due to the red-baiting of the party. M.P. Erhart Regier charged in the House of Commons that the Liberal party was responsible -- that it had conducted "an almost complete house to house telephone canvass urging support of the NDP in the name of the Communist party of Canada" (*Hansard, January 25, 1962*)

As the June 18, 1962 federal election approached, a red-baiting campaign swept across the country. The Tories red-baited Liberal leader Pearson. The Liberals Cuba-baited the Tory Deifenbaker government — and the NDP leadership. While it was apparent that the NDP was the campaign's principle target, apparently in the belief that the best defence is to join in, the NDP leadership did just that. NDP leader Douglas at the CLC Vancouver convention accused the Chamber of Commerce of behaving like reds in its Operation Freedom campaign. The provincial council of the Ontario NDP circulated a letter to all presidents, secretaries and candidates stating that it is "very much concerned about the communist problem in the coming election," and warned about Communists and Trotskyists infiltrating the party. It urged candidates to proclaim their purity from taint of communism and warned them to screen out of their organization any of these subversives or even ex-subversives. The Quebec NDP central office even went so far as to open its membership lists to the RCMP for examination.

The June 18, 1962 federal election saw the NDP poll 13.9% of the vote in contrast to the 11% polled by the CCF in 1957, as political alignments and loyalties continued to break down. In 1957 hundreds of thousands dumped their former allegiance by voting Tory, and throwing out the 22 year old Liberal machine.

1962 was one of continued fluidity with a powerful shift away from the government — but it landed up behind the Liberals. The only significant NDP gains were in BC and Metro Toronto.

In consternation the editors of the party's major paper, the weekly *Prairie New Democrat* asked "How is it possible that the NDP in the province was not more successful?" And replied; "The answer is simple. We have failed to explain to the general public the social and political issues involved. A public which properly understood the principles and aims of New Democracy would not turn away from it" (*Prairie New Democrat*, June 27, 1962).

Portraying the dilemma that even the NDP leadership, with their liberal-reformist policies felt themselves to be in, was their decision to reproduce a column by Pierre Berton that appeared in the *Toronto Star* in mass circulation dailies from coast to coast. Berton ridiculed them for "desperately trying to pretend that the NDP really isn't radical, unorthodox, daring, imaginative or in any sense un-Canadian," but they saw that it could be used to advantage. Berton's column ended up supporting the NDP — not for governmental office, but as a "needle and wheedle" of the capitalist parties (*Toronto Star*, June 12, 1962).

Following the federal election the Ontario leadership felt compelled to recognize the deep dissatisfaction within the party and opened up the pages of the *New Democrat* to discussion.

York Centre candidate Val Scott's contribution pointed out that the million mark presented as a historic first by the leadership "does not represent anything more than what the old CCF could have accomplished." But his view on "What's Wrong With Us" took the discussion in the direction of the need for more of what the leadership had said would win — more money, slicker pamphlets, more gimmicks — and away from program.

The Ontario provincial executive's letter warning of red infiltration of the party was not just a me-too response to the witch hunters, a verbal effort to clear itself before the witch hunters. Sections of the NDP leadership were not satisfied with having defeated at the founding convention the efforts of the socialists to give the party a program that would clearly mark it out as a party of social change.

Immediately following that convention they commenced a campaign to purge the party of the socialists. They commenced with those who they thought to be its most vulnerable elements.

The BC provincial executive proscribed the revolutionary socialist paper *Workers' Vanguard* and (also) *The Press*, a forum of general left-reformist opinion. They declared that distribution (of either paper) by any member of the BC party would be grounds for expulsion from the party. This was followed up with moves to expel three longstanding CCFers Malcolm Bruce, Ruth Bullock and Reg Bullock, then leaders of the Vancouver branch of the League for Socialist Action. The proscription of *The Press* and the *Vanguard* brought forth a wide and vigorous protest involving prominent party leaders — the moves to expel the LSAers were tabled.

In Ontario, the provincial executive adopted the device of by-passing charges and hearings etc., by simply refusing to renew membership of half a dozen NDPers alleged to be members of the LSA. In a campaign which was particularly virulent in the Ontario youth movement of the NDP, the NDY, it was alleged that the LSA was in actuality an opponent political party with an aim completely contrary to all its pronouncements — of destroying the NDP — destroying it from within.

In November '62, the provincial executive of the BC NDY tried in absentia some of the left-wing activists, expelled eight, and suspended three leading members, among them the previous year's provincial secretary and the editor of its publication. Expressions of solidarity with the expelled came from such leading figures as M.P.s Colin Cameron, Bert Herridge, Dorothy Steeves and W.W. Lefaux. The general charge was active participation in the activities of the LSA — whose principles and policies were alleged to be contrary to those of the NDY. The North Shore NDP decided to maintain the three expelled members with full membership rights and to call upon the NDP executive to intervene and assure a fair trial — other associations called for a reversal of the youth action. While the provincial council endorsed an executive decision not to intervene a leading spokesman declared that the youth contrary to the NDY leaders wishes were still members of the adult party with full membership rights.

Rumours of expulsions long rife in the Ontario section jelled in April 1963 with the expulsion of over a dozen leading activists in the NDY on the charge of "membership in and support of another political party" — but this time it was the Young Socialist Alliance. Their expulsions were upheld by the party's provincial executive. At the same time under the impact of the results of April 8 federal elections which marked a further set-back for the NDP a public meeting of prominent BC left wingers was held in Vancouver. This meeting, attended by Dorothy Sleeves, Bert Herridge, Hugh Clifford, Jerry Lebourdais, Orville Braten, Malcolm Bruce, Ruth Bullock and others, was the scene of an intense discussion as to whether to organize a socialist caucus and whether to do so in a formal and open way or on an informal basis. The next meeting elected a 14 person committee "to prepare a draft for a socialist manifesto and a statement of aims for a left wing formation in the NDP."

#### **4) THE SECOND CONVENTION — 1963**

Reflecting the widening concern across the party, the second NDP federal convention saw the leadership present a new statement of objectives and principles

containing the insertion, that the new society the party envisaged would embody the principles of "democratic socialism". The token character of this was inadvertently exposed by a party leader who challenged it from the floor since he, as a non-socialist, agreed completely with every other word in the statement.

Confronted by the expulsions in the NDY the convention passed a constitutional amendment that deprived the youth of its autonomy by taking all disciplinary powers away from it. The retiring federal president Michael Oliver's comment of the situation: "A party like ours will always attract people who believe there is something radically wrong with society. We have to be careful," he warned, that "they don't use us to pursue aims which are external to the party" (*Workers' Vanguard, August, 1963*).

The left, organized in the LSA, the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship of Edmonton and the Montreal New Left Association, at this convention was joined by the BC Socialist Caucus which distributed its manifesto to the delegates.

The League for Socialist Action's convention, held just prior to the Regina NDP convention, concluded that their projection of the possibility of the NDP in its formative period having a revolutionary dynamic was terminated, largely for two reasons, the weakness of the socialist cadre and the failure of the new developing radicalization to hit the NDP in time. The widespread expulsions it said, are "not so much a sign of its (the NDP leadership's) strength as it is a sign of the as yet relatively weak connections it (the NDP) has with the class. As the labor party extends and deepens its influence we too deepen our connections; the bureaucracy will be much less able to settle accounts with its socialist opposition without endangering its whole position. It is possibly a partial awareness of this — that tomorrow will bring an influence of new militant workers and the situation will be much less favourable — that drives the NDP brass to such reckless extremes in the current drive against the left" (*Workers' Vanguard September, 1963*).

The Socialist Caucus manifesto argued the case for the party projecting a socialist objective. At the same time it presented a series of proposals on immediate problems. Along with demands for withdrawal from NATO and NORAD and "normal diplomatic and trade relations with all countries and active support of the struggles for a maintenance of national independence of all nations as represented in the Americas by Cuba," it outlined demands "to preserve the national independence of Canada.... socialization of all foreign-owned industries and the planned development of secondary industries — nationalization of all financial institutions, including insurance" (*Socialist Caucus Manifesto, signed by Cedric Cox MLA, Hugh Clifford, John Macey, July, 1963*)

The appeal of the expelled youth finally came before the Ontario Provincial Council in February 1964. The sustaining of the expulsions in one case was only carried by a vote of 30 to 29. The *Toronto Globe and Mail* thought it significant enough to comment to the effect: "By confirming the expulsion of the ten young radicals.... the council turned decisively toward moderate economic and social planning that leaves room for both public and private enterprise" (*Toronto Globe and Mail, February 14, 1964*).

With that the expelled youth launched a paper called *Young Socialist Forum*.

In August the Ontario leadership refused a convention seat to Hugh Dowson a legally elected delegate from affiliate Local 112 UAW (*United Auto Workers, predecessor to the Canadian Auto Workers union --Ed.*) — the largest union local in the Toronto area. A *Toronto Star* editorial ridiculed the NDP for enforcing the medieval concept of this delegate's guilt by association with the LSA through his blood relationship to Ross Dowson, Executive Secretary of the LSA (*Workers' Vanguard, Mid-August, 1964*). Meanwhile, in BC, the provincial council proscribed the League for Socialist Action and expelled Ruth and Reg Bullock. In their appeals before the convention the following spring, Ruth Bullock and former NDY secretary Phil Courneyeur defended their rights to hold membership in the LSA -- one third of the delegates voted against expulsion.

## 5) THE THIRD CONVENTION — 1965

In the spring of 1965 the new radicalization took on the concrete form in Toronto of the massive and extended youth action in solidarity with the US black freedom struggle. The opposition to the war in Vietnam and Canada's complicity in it started to spread and grow across the country.

**The third federal NDP convention saw the appearance of an open and declared Socialist Caucus which published a printed 6-point program, argued its views before the delegates, and presented a slate of candidates for the federal council. It boldly sought official recognition. M.P. Bert Herridge, who firmly identified with the Caucus, announced from the convention floor the holding of a demonstration in protest against US actions in Vietnam which took scores of delegates through Toronto downtown streets to a rally on the US consulate steps(emphasis by Web Ed.)**

While none of the positions of the Socialist Caucus were adopted, and none of its candidates elected, it had the consistent support of 30 to 40 delegates.

In a matter of days the Ontario leadership responded with a full page article in the *August 1965 New Democrat* smearing the Socialist Caucus as "the most recent Trotskyite device to capture New Democrats." In recognition that the caucus was well rooted and had a real potential they attempted, after bludgeoning it from without to disrupt it from within, with a warning that "Radicals who wish to get one of their planks adopted by the Party convention depend on having their proposals heard in the spirit of mutual tolerance.... The presence of Trotskyites.... makes this impossible."

This threat materialized in the Spring of 1967 in the expulsions of another twelve leading activists without charges or trials, despite the protests of two Ontario area councils and nine riding associations.

But now the new radicalization was advancing and sending shock waves through every layer of North American society. The capitalist Liberal party strategists,

recognizing the developing mood of impatience and frustration —" the revolution of rising expectations" -- decided to get with it, hoping to divert it and dissipate it. They boldly decided to place Pierre Elliott Trudeau with his free wheeling talk about "participatory democracy" and "the just society" to the fore as party leader.

The NDP was even more susceptible to these pressures being a minority party of dissent with roots into the masses. As M.P. Ed Broadbent notes "a good number of young people are by-passing us too. They see us as being concerned with a little more -- a little more pensions, more benefits, instead of being concerned with making a qualitative change in society." The right wing policy of the leadership, its persistent search for respectability arid acceptance, its by now well-known attacks on radical and socialist opinion in its own ranks, was firmly establishing it in many minds as another party little different from those of the parties of the establishment. But even this fear did not shake the leadership out of the liberal-reformist thought into which it was embedded, and take advantage of the possibilities of leading a powerful movement for social change. It reacted in the same way as the Liberal party bureaucrats, although its circumstances were considerably different.

## 6) THE 1967 CONVENTION

"The mood is radical" concluded Ontario provincial secretary John Harney, in a pre-convention issue of the *New Democrat* and the party brass opened up, as had the Liberals and the Tories before them with a leadership contest. The candidates vied with one another in a battle of radical phrases and clichés; a "radical analysis", a "leadership of challenge for a party of change," a "new image". But they all carefully skirted around the issues coming up, carefully evading getting committed programatically.

Nonetheless all the radical words opened up and released sentiments which had been felt in the ranks but scarcely articulated save by the socialists grouped around the Socialist Caucus. The pressure generated by the radicalization on the leadership and their response to it, despite all of their efforts to confine it in safe channels, nonetheless in turn legitimatized and stimulated a response from the delegates to the December 1967 convention.

For the first time an Ontario provincial convention moved into the previously forbidden area of foreign affairs. Almost unanimously the convention demanded that the federal executive and M.P.s "actively advance" a policy of withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the ending of Canadian complicity, and promote the need for the conversion of the war goods producing industry, the public development of Ontario's resources and the initiation of a vast program of public works. It also unanimously endorsed the Czech people's struggle "to radicalize their socialism." None of the scattered proposals of the leadership were radical enough for the delegates.

**One resolution committed an NDP government to public ownership of natural resources. When delegates interpreted that to mean natural resource industries,**

**public ownership of the land, of the mines, and the gas pipelines, they were not contradicted. Other resolutions demanded the party become an activist movement involved in strikes, student struggles, tenants organizing, etc. Despite its long harassment, interest in the Socialist Caucus was high – with up to 100 delegates attending its strategy meetings. But the leadership rode the crest of the wave with its stewardship unchallenged; it could look upon the convention with a certain detachment (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

The Vancouver convention heard party leader T.C. Douglas orate that "we are in an age of revolt," that the NDP must give answers to the youth who are revolting against a society manipulated and controlled by an "economic oligarchy," where decisions are made in board rooms, where "law and order" is used to repress dissent – a society which carries on a genocidal war in Vietnam.... etc. But the ritual of a leadership contest was used to exclude almost all discussion on resolutions submitted by constituencies and affiliated union locals. The socialist viewpoint was overwhelmed, by a bombastic power struggle between two "serious," "realistic" candidates although a prominent and New Left student leader presented himself for the party leadership.

The leadership's strategy of response to and manipulation of the radicalization combined, in Manitoba, with the deep disillusionment with the Liberals and Tories put the party into office. The Schreyer team with its youth and small "l" liberal image, won almost double the last NDP vote. On the other hand with a repeat performance, with the same type of campaign in BC, the NDP suffered a serious setback.

## 7) THE 1969 CONVENTION

Suddenly what has become known as the Waffle exploded onto the scene. It first appeared through the publication in the small circulation revolutionary socialist bi-weekly *Workers' Vanguard* in a statement entitled "For an Independent and Socialist Canada," July 14, 1969. The statement was issued as a contribution to the October 1969 NDP federal convention over the name of Melville Watklns who came to public attention as a member of Liberal party leader Walter Gordon's team of academics investigating foreign investments in the Canadian economy, and a group of lesser known NDPers. This move was welcomed by the small and by now isolated forces in the Socialist Caucus. It dissolved itself and joined enthusiastically with other elements into the Waffle.

There was nothing remarkably new in the "Waffle Manifesto." Much of what it said had been said before by various leftists in the NDP. Even its nationalism, its attack on the increasing domination of Canada by American corporate capitalism, its demand for an independent Canada which could only be won as a socialist Canada — its main thrust was not new. The same paper which first published the "Waffle Manifesto" had published in 1967 and early '68 a series of four articles which challenged the NDP to respond to this issue of important increasing public concern — the growth of Canadian nationalism which the articles characterized as an anti-imperialist sentiment. The first took on an "Open Letter to Canadian Nationalists" issued by the editors of *Canadian Dimension*,

with the statement that "there can be no Canadian independence under capitalism. Canada can only be independent when the working class take the power and control the economy of this country."

But there was no question, as Harney had noted, and the top leadership had been noticing and tuning their speeches to, over the last few years -- "the mood is radical." Possibly elements in the brass thought that this too could be part of the act, for in the beginning a considerable number of established figures, not known in any way as left-wingers, signed the "Waffle Manifesto" -- for example, Charles Taylor, leading theoretician of the right, who later withdrew his signature at the Winnipeg convention of October 1969. While the NDP leadership first tried to dismiss the "Manifesto" as outdated doctrinaire, anti-American and even Trotskyist, the wide response that it met and particularly its respected signatories dispensed the red-baiting and the Waffle was able to present itself as a legitimate social-democratic current with deep roots in the party.

**With the Winnipeg convention, for the first time in the NDP there was a broad left formation supported by about one-third of the 1,100 delegates which caucused several times during the convention and voted unanimously to establish a continuing left-wing body to continue the fight to win the NDP to a socialist program and leadership. The Waffle in the next period moved from success to success. In August it held a national conference which showed that it was sinking important roots across the country most importantly in Saskatchewan where Waffle supporters had intervened in the party convention to win 25% of the delegates. The conference elected a 10 person steering committee (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

The conference at the same time threw light on a series of important problems confronting the left. Some elements, notably in BC could see no way of coping with the powerful influence in the party of trade union bureaucracy other than by urging the cutting back of union representation, other than taking an anti-union stance. The Waffle had not yet sunk real roots in the movement itself, in the constituency organizations. It was not really involved in the day to day activity of the movement, such as it is, and not in a position to go through experiences necessary to influence the party membership in any profound way. Some elements did not even hold membership in the party, had no real orientation to it and were becoming an important force pulling Waffle in the direction of substituting itself for the party, doing its own thing.

For a movement which itself was being red-baited it showed a shocking tolerance for red-baiting within its own ranks against the Trotskyists -- a disease that can block the necessary free play of ideas and that in turn opens Waffle itself to red-baiting by the right wing with some kind of "slow boat to communism" charge.

## **8) THE 1971 CONVENTION**

The Waffle was not really involved in the main areas of radicalization itself -- the anti-Vietnam war movement, women's liberation, the student movement -- and was

therefore in no way bringing this process into the NDP itself and changing the relationship of forces within it to its favor.

But essentially these limitations only reflect the limitations of the radicalization whose main thrust is still expressed, not in the organized working class, in the trade unions or even the constituency associations of the NDP, but sectors still largely peripheral to them.

Perhaps the most important decision that the conference arrived at was to translate its widening influence and take it forward to the next level — the struggle for the leadership of the party itself.

The leadership campaign behind James Laxer, even well before the convention revealed a marked change in attitude to the Waffle on the part of the trade union and party brass, David Lewis denounced it as "extreme, dangerous nonsense," Frank Howard called for its dissolution, and UAW leader Dennis McDermott labelled it "a natural haven for every social misfit in the party." Food Workers' union leader Fred Dowling cried "Basically the Waffle did more to damage the party than anything that's happened in the past 15 years" (*Workers' Vanguard, Mid-May, 1971*).

The leadership contest, with James Laxer as the left-wing's candidate, overwhelmed everything else at the April 1971 federal convention.

Some 37% of the more than 1,600 delegates voted on the final ballot for Laxer — the vast majority of delegates under 30 years of age, almost the entire 60-member Quebec delegation and a very substantial number of women delegates. Abstracting the vote of the party office holders and the vote controlled by the trade union leadership, it would appear clear that the Left had the support of a clear majority of rank and file constituency delegates. Not only did the vote register the appeal of the Left but at the same time it revealed a real erosion of confidence in the right-wing leadership's capacity to lead the party to victory.

In 1965 the Ontario leadership in its witch-hunt against the Socialist Caucus suggested that radicals could expect to be heard "in the spirit of mutual tolerance," with the inference that the democratic processes of the party would assure that they could even win the leadership of the party in fair debate. "The presence of the Trotskyites makes this impossible", they said. The Trotskyists of course, are a revolutionary socialist tendency. The Waffle, while still in flux, in so far as it has developed or presented a theory, is left reformist — social democratic. This is most clearly seen in Cy Gonick's paper entitled "Revolutionary Reformism; A Strategy," circulated at the 1970 national Waffle conference. Watkins himself in a recent comment dissociated himself from some New Brunswick NDPers who claimed to be Waffle as advocating policies completely outside the pale of social democracy.

While the top trade union and party leadership took a sharp and hostile turn against Waffle in the leadership campaign, their attitudes still appear to be somewhat ambivalent.

This spring it is clear that they actually gave two key nominations in the coming Federal elections to two top spokespersons (Melville Watkins and Ellie Prepas) and only put on a token contest for another which Jim Laxer won. This was done however while a resolution was circulating through the Ontario movement passed by a Hamilton constituency calling for the suppression of Waffle and similar organized left-groupings in the NDP.

That resolution was used by Ontario leader Stephen Lewis at the March 1972 provincial council meeting attended by more than 200 delegates as an excuse for a sharp attack on Waffle. Lewis charged the Waffle with the same crime that has been used by social democratic party leaderships against left wing oppositions across the world. The Waffle he claimed, constituted "a party within a party". The council voted by 157 to 62 for a resolution that expressed "grave anxiety" at the emergence of a distinct group within the party.... with structures and policies separate and different from those of the party" (*Toronto Star, March 19, 1972*).

Perhaps as a suggestion of an out for the Waffle elements who have been red-baited, or went along with red-baiting in their own ranks, Lewis in his lengthy attack red-baited Waffle. He charged it with providing a "forum for extremists like Maoists and Trotskyists whose views are not dissent but destruction, not ideological but pathological." If Waffle is to be Trotsky-baited by the NDP brass in an all-out struggle, should Waffle Trotsky-bait (elements within) itself to win immunity from attack?

To date Waffle has not responded to this far-reaching attack on it. It is as yet too early to know how far the leadership is going to take this into the constituency organizations and what will be its repercussions there. But it is possible that very shortly the struggle to win the NDP to a socialist perspective will take another turn.

The NDP leadership can of course, anticipate that there will be a fall-out of support for Waffle, certainly in the whole first stage of their assault. But will Waffle blow up or split apart? The development of Waffle, as with the development of socialist currents throughout the whole past period within the NDP, is by no means accidental. It flows out of the fact that the NDP is firmly established as a labor party and that it has thereby become an essential and key arena of the inevitable radicalizing process of the Canadian working class. While the key sectors of organized labor have not yet entered the arena we are nonetheless in a period of deepening radicalization and there could appear to be no end in sight. The radicalization constitutes a tremendous pressure on the Waffle regardless of the actions of individuals, even persons most identified with it, to stand up and fight to continue the struggle. If they do not do this at this very favourable conjuncture we can be sure that the historic process will find other suitable instruments to achieve its aim.

*(end)*

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### Letter (from Ross Dowson) to Norman Penner, dated May 25, 1972

Thanks very much for the marginal comments on my essay and for the expanded observations.

I have only now had the opportunity to really read my essay. I had been terribly tied up in the politics of the campus and then when I really got down to working on the essay I got tied up in the theme of the essay itself. It turned out to be even more interesting than I had thought it would be. The more I got into it the more engrossed I became. It continued to take on new dimensions as time was running out on me.

The net result is that while I think that I did a good job all around it is now very obvious to me, now that I can read it in typed form, that I really needed a couple of more days to polish it up. There are a great many errors that could easily have been eliminated and it needs some judicious editing.

I think that a number of your marginal notes and comments fall into this category and I will keep them in mind when I re-polish the essay.

Yes, you are correct. I should have inserted that the Communist Party wanted the New Party "to become (PART OF) a coalition," and not to be the coalition itself. They projected the possibility of a realignment of political forces including what they would have called progressively-minded Liberals.

Yes, you are right to put a query over my statement that "there was nothing remarkably new in the Waffle New Left." This statement would certainly seem extravagant until you read on. I meant of course – what Waffle said was not particularly new but as a current it was certainly a new phenomenon. In the same respect it is possible it seems to me to treat the New Party as a new party. Many of its components were the same as the CCF. Trade union involvement but even more the conjuncture made it new. Now some 11 years after its formation the old components have come to the fore – its least new or non-new aspects are more apparent.

Perhaps the essay is in a sense incorrectly titled. It seems to me that the NDP is for the next period key to the radicalization of the Canadian working class. In the total picture it is the subjective element in the process. For the tiny Marxist forces the NDP itself however is an objective factor.

*(letter ends)*

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## **The Collapse of our NDP Work in Ontario and some Lessons for the Future**

By Harry Knight

(Hans Modlich original heavily re-written by R.Dowson) Toronto Local, East Branch

*(Part 1 of 2; a critique of the politics of the LSA leadership -- Web Ed.)*

### **a) Introduction**

The appearance of the Waffle in the NDP which resulted in the broadest and most powerful left-wing formation in our entire CCF-NDP experience has had a profoundly unsettling effect on the maturing process of the only existing party of independent working class political action in North America. For the whole past period, the Waffle has seriously upset the consolidation of the reformist leadership's grip over the party and has opened the NDP up to many currents in the new radicalization: currents awakened by the war in Vietnam, student radicals, women, and those concerned about the economic integration and domination of Canada's economy by the U.S. colossus, a concern which is beginning to pervade all sectors of society including the working class.

Even today, with the Waffle dispatched outside the party, with the NDP holding office in three provinces, without an organized, coherent socialist opposition within the NDP, the party leadership still has not established firm control over its membership, whose unease and discontent is still evident. Objectively, the NDP is still more open to the ongoing radicalization that is taking place in the country than it was before the Waffle experience.

A balance sheet must now be drawn of the Waffle experience, an experience that we greeted and embraced to the full, and of our intervention in that experience, our attempt to direct the Waffle more fully into the NDP, to root its radicalism in the ranks of the working class elements in the NDP.

This balance sheet cannot be limited by the narrow vision of the P.C. majority (*Political Committee, governing cross-country body of the LSA/LSO --Web ed.*) on the rise of a new nationalism in English Canada. For this reason, this contribution agrees with the criticisms of comrade Dowson regarding the simplistic, self-prophesying stand of the P.C. majority in its evaluation of the Waffle experience as a debacle, a stand which breaks from and rejects our previous correct approach to the Waffle.

The fundamental flaws in the P.C. majority's positions are most clearly apparent when we undertake the urgently needed stocktaking of the condition of our work presently in the NDP. Hence, the first part of this contribution will attempt to detail and evaluate the reasons behind the general failure of our NDP work, our failure to take root in the NDP, and the unhealthy situation in the Ontario Left Caucus where an imminent blow-up is being posed by various ultra-left forces within that caucus.

There is an agonizing question that we must now deal with in making our balance sheet. Why, after this turbulent period in the NDP, why, after the conclusion of the gestation process represented by the Waffle (a process during which we had a correct theoretical grasp of the situation, although we lacked the necessary organizational leverage and cadre, as the 1971 Plenum document evaluated), are we now left empty-handed and isolated in the Left Caucus?

Why are we now reduced to a shaky alliance with neophyte ultra-left elements which, coincidentally, we found ourselves at loggerheads with a year ago within the Waffle, elements we have been fighting against years before the Orillia confrontation (*during which the Waffle was forced to disband --Web Ed.*) over the question of whether the Waffle should reject the NDP?

### **b) The present status of the Left Caucus**

Let us begin with a balance sheet of the Left Caucus as it exists now and the direction in which it is moving.

Despite the effective floor rallies led by the Left Caucus at the last ONDP convention around some key left issues such as "Peace-keeping" and the need for public ownership of resources (an issue popularized by the Waffle), the Left Caucus today is on the verge of blowing apart. Why is this the case?

From its inception, the Left Caucus has been unable to activate to any significant extent the remaining pro-Waffle elements of the NDP, many of which still look to the Laxer leadership for political direction and are simply observing the Left Caucus from the sidelines.

Many of the not insignificant independents that we won over at the Delaware conference to the stay-and-fight perspective, even the much-discussed forces from Windsor and Sudbury — never made it as far as to attend the ONDP convention or even the founding conference of the Left Caucus itself.

Even in early September 1972, during our attempts to organize this conference, while we were engaged in a fight to block a sectarian program for the Left Caucus, these militants looked on the discussions as a strictly Trotskyist battleground, reducing them to passive spectators, and failing to draw them into the important discussions that should have been taking place.

Even today, as the right-wing leadership goes about re-consolidating their hold on riding after riding, the "afficionados" of the ultraleft Red Circle and Old Mole and elements in the LSA cannot see the handwriting on the wall. If they do see the increasing consolidation of the reformist leadership over the riding associations they disclaim responsibility for it through their defeatist attitude that nothing more could have been done. This coincides and justifies their own **real** orientation to the self-stylized "vanguard elements". With this background in mind, we can begin to understand the recent ultraleft antics of the caucus. These antics included the projection at a February Left Caucus meeting of an open confrontation with the NDP leadership over sending Canadian "observers" to Vietnam by organizing a picket line supposedly in the name of some left riding associations. This projection, which was made by our own comrades in the Left Caucus, and similar confrontations, cannot tap the resentment against the NDP leadership that can still be found among the NDP membership. It goes strictly over the heads of the rank and file members of the party. It is based on a complete misreading of the situation in the NDP.

At a March 23rd meeting of the Beaches-Woodbine riding association, one day after MP Rowland's statement in the House that the NDP parliamentary caucus opposed continued participation by Canada in the I.C.C.S. (*the International Control Commission, a U.S. military-dominated so-called overseeing agency in Vietnam- Web ed.*), the Red Circle, spearheaded by Joe Flexer and Steve Penner, could not rise above sectarian declamations that the NDP was not anti-imperialist. How devoid of a propagandistic and explanatory character their intervention was can be seen clearly in the inability of these elements to explain the left's fundamental opposition to international supervision as a foil for legitimizing the false U.S. propaganda view of the

Vietnamese revolution as an aggressive war from the North, of how Canadian participation on the I.C.C.S. sanctioned, by its very nature, continued outside interference in the affairs of the Vietnamese people, who want nothing more than to expel the Saigon puppets from their country. Such explanations, such propaganda work was totally absent. Perhaps, it would have required too much patience.

More significant yet, the substantial and highly articulate Left Caucus forces in this riding association should have undertaken themselves to intervene with this propagandists approach. However, it appears they were not involved in the discussion to any significant extent. Needless to say, this kind of intervention turned more into a rout for the Caucus than a victory.

As we set our sights to the Federal Convention, we find ourselves with a "Left Caucus Manifesto" being forced on the Ontario Left Caucus. This "Manifesto" is a sectarian gambit, a declaration of empty "revolutionary" rhetoric which in no way addresses itself to the ranks of the party. In the formal and sterile denunciations of reformism, which are projected in the draft outline, the "Manifesto" is totally devoid of a really effective counter-offensive socialist program. The approach to politics expressed by the "Manifesto" places it beyond the orbit of the NDP and could serve as a cover for these elements pulling out from, or slowly backing out of the NDP itself. Since this "Manifesto" rejects the existing NDP all the way down the line as a "hardened reformist" organization, this Manifesto effectively rejects the concept that the working class of Canada is going to go through a serious experience with the NDP, an experience which the LSA seeks to intervene in, to direct to its inevitable conclusion.

We must recognize that the Left Caucus is becoming rapidly isolated from the rank and file members of the NDP as a result of the splittist and sectarian direction imposed on it by the Red Circle and other assorted ultraleft forces, in conjunction with forces in our own movement.

These forces have dumped our analysis of the NDP as a labour party both on the road and blocking the road to socialism (*one of the slogans of the movement being "the NDP is both ON the road and IN the road to socialism" –Web ed.*) It is obvious that these forces disagree with our strategy and direction to build an ongoing socialist wing in the party based on a programmatic challenge to the leadership around a program of democratic and transitional demands aimed at exposing the reformist and parliamentarian orientation of the NDP leadership.

"Winning the NDP to Socialism", our motto for winning over the ranks to a class struggle perspective and which embodied no illusions on our part that the NDP could be transformed, is ipso facto Utopian, these forces declare, because the NDP is a hardened, social-democratic formation – bourgeois in thrust.

Armed with this static revelation, which some of these forces have held even in the midst of the confrontation with the Waffle when all hell was breaking loose against the embattled Lewises (*NDP leadership –Web ed.*), these elements are now pushing their position to its logical conclusion. Our own leading comrades in this area of work who could have held this process in check, given the vacillation and paralysis of the Metro Toronto leadership and the central leadership of the LSA, are now making common cause with the ultralefts.

### **c) The role of the politics of the leadership**

After more than a decade of a correct orientation to the NDP, which is something which we can hold up as an example to other sections, after years of building the LSA around this orientation, how is it possible for the P.C. majority, which was itself shaped by this experience and this orientation, to lose its way and get so completely bogged down?

To understand the indecision of the P.C. majority, to understand their zigzags and their adaptation both to the left and to the right (which we will detail later), we have to examine the basic determinants of the new line of the P.C. majority.

Comrade Dowson has already documented how the P.C. majority's wrong line on Canadian nationalism has been a key factor in shaping their thinking at the time of the (*Waffle*) Delaware conference and subsequent to it.

As one who participated in that conference and as one who admonished the Waffle that their nationalism would tend to "put socialism in the back seat" (and the position papers of the new MISC --Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada-- did tend to lean in that direction), I must now admit that my predictions and those of the P.C. majority did not come true.

Recent experience with the Waffle, their striking and dramatic growth and the important socialist educational work they have done involving hundreds of newly radicalizing people proves, if anything, the very opposite. While we will evaluate the whole experience in more detail in the following pages, it is fundamentally correct to see the scuttling of our orientation to this new nationalism as the key error which has led to the unhinging of our traditional NDP line. From this wrong response to Canadian nationalism flows the uncritical adaptation towards the Red Circle, which after all was a rare commodity in that it too agreed with the P.C. majority's new line that there was a "nationalist threat" in Canada, a line that made its debut at the Delaware conference.

Our NDP work, which had picked up tremendously during the course of the Waffle defence work, was also to reach its apex in Orillia. At that time, many radicalizing independents were attracted by a revolutionary Marxist analysis of the NDP. This was the first time we intervened with some real leverage in the Waffle and with it in the NDP.

However, the independent elements were soon after discouraged by the narrow and factional wrangling of the caucus, its high pseudo-Trotskyist profile, and the fact that it didn't have a clear perspective, that it wasn't getting anywhere. After the ONDP convention, the caucus proved, in fact, incapable of reestablishing and rebuilding a political, programmatic challenge to the reformist NDP leadership around a broad range of meaningful issues.

In retrospect, we also have to take stock of the scandalous lack of direction from the P.C. majority, the tailing by our P.C. leadership of the comrades directing the work area who, in turn, tailed the politics of the Red Circle. Graphic evidence of the decay of the LSA's leadership in this area was the absence of Metro NDP reports to the Metro assemblies, the lack of concrete direction and the absence of consultation and meetings during periods when critical developments were taking place. The situation, in short, was a complete paralysis of the central leadership in dealing with the NDP area of work and a total failure on their part to do anything to reverse this degenerating situation. Nothing is more telling in this regard than the absence of a pre-convention document by the P.C. majority which could correctly evaluate the serious failure of the Left Caucus, especially now when the NDP question is becoming central to a discussion of the movement's overall work.

Instead of coming forth with such a document, the P.C. majority has chosen to characterize the work of the Left Caucus in the recent update of the political resolution (with) the following unperturbed simplicity:

"Rather than organize the struggle for democratic rights in the NDP, the Waffle leadership decided to bolt the party, pressing the Ontario Waffle to its split at the Delaware

conference in August 1972... The class-struggle socialists" (including the Red Circle, I assume? - H.K.) "founded the Left Caucus to continue the struggle to build a **mass left wing** in the NDP" (emphasis – H.K.)

Apart from the pages of criticism of the Waffle defectors, splitters and their "nationalist deviation", the document finds no room anywhere to record the simple fact that the bulk of the forces in the Left Caucus are anything but committed to build a mass left wing in the NDP. Perhaps that would be asking too much from an embattled P.C. majority which by now is completely removed and out of touch with developments in the NDP.

#### **d) The Waffle experience, the purge and the bogey of nationalism**

In a document of some fifty odd pages, three pages are set aside in the Political Resolution under the heading, "The Waffle Experience." The P.C. majority feels that the analysis they present in these three pages is now their final word on the Waffle and updates and supercedes the movement's previous assessment of Waffle work.

As a reference point in the discussion and for the benefit of some comrades who haven't been exposed to it previously let's flash back to the opening paragraphs of the Waffle's 1969 Manifesto:

**"Our aim as democratic socialists is to build an independent socialist Canada. Our aim as supporters of the New Democratic Party is to make it a truly socialist party,**

**"The achievement of socialism awaits the building of a mass base of socialists in factories and offices, on farms and campuses. The development of socialist consciousness, on which can be built a socialist base, must be the first priority of the New Democratic Party.**

**"The New Democratic Party must be seen as the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change. It must be radicalized from within and it must be radicalized from without.**

**"THE MOST urgent issue for Canadians is the very survival of Canada. Anxiety is pervasive and the goal of greater economic independence receives widespread support. But economic independence without socialism is a sham, and neither are meaningful without true participatory democracy.**

**"The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our times is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external, not internal" (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

Is this the voice of classical bourgeois nationalism in a socialist disguise? Is this a nationalism playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie and if so wouldn't the Waffle experience have to be rejected in its entirety? But let us go back to what the political resolution says about the Waffle, experience now.

Right from the start, the P.C. contribution constitutes a re~ writing of our past positions on the Waffle.

"The NDP" (not the Waffle? - H.K.) "has proved to be a particularly powerful pole of attraction and expression for the radicalization in English Canada.

"The **youth** radicalization was quick to orient to the **NDP**" (my emphasis - H.K.) "We saw the first indications of this in 1967-68 in the positive response in NDP ranks, among younger members in particular, to the Socialist Caucus program and policies. The formation of the 'Waffle' caucus in 1969 ... further confirmed the validity of our longstanding orientation to the NDP. The Waffle advanced many of the key demands of the Socialist Caucus; support of student-faculty control, of women's liberation, of the antiwar movement, defense of Quebec's right to self-determination, its insistence that the NDP must attempt to lead extra-parliamentary anti-capitalist movements."

Check again! That's what it says about the Waffle and read on if you wish. Nowhere is there a: mention of the Waffle slogan "For an Independent, Socialist Canada!" Wasn't that what the Waffle was really all about? Funny, but you'd never know from the P.C. majority's assessment.

Also, just for the record, didn't we say that it was through the **Waffle** that the youth radicalization was able to link up with the NDP and along with the Viet Nam war helped to limber up the party from its "hardening" which we noted in the 1966 convention.

The essential points in the August 1971 plenum's extensive analysis of the Waffle are summarized briefly in the Political Resolution and then the P.C. majority's new twist, their real insight, unfolds. After commenting on the "quick discouragement" in the Waffle after they failed to win the April '71 federal leadership convention, the document says, "All these problems came together and found a focus and theoretical rationale in the Waffle leadership's adaptation to and support of Canadian nationalism. They were given a **decisive push**" (my emphasis – H.K.) "from the NDP by the Ontario party leadership's moves in the spring of '72..."

But the fact is that the Waffle was nationalist from its very birth in 1969. At that time we described them as nationalist putting the word nationalist in quotation marks. To find its way around this sticky point, the P.C. majority conveniently tries to erase the past, and blithely denies the Waffle's most salient feature, the motor force of its call for an "independent socialist Canada" which we accepted within the framework of the NDP. Instead the P.C. is now having us believe that the Waffle was advancing the same basic "class struggle concepts" of the Socialist Caucus, until of course it went berserk on nationalism, presumably starting in mid-1971. But comrades, we said no such thing in our August '71 plenum assessment of the Waffle. Read the speeches out of Waterloo!

In their document, *Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism*, the P.C. majority states, "the 1968 resolution on Canada-US relations described a sentiment but projected no movement to which it might give rise... It offered only a concept of sensitive orientation to an ill-defined sentiment -- **an Orientation that was to prove sterile and misdirected** (emphasis added -- H.K.)

Here it is more boldly. The PC majority can no longer accept the fundamentally radical thrust of the Waffle, "nationalist" as we said it was, and instead downplays and reduces this very significant aspect in our movement's experience in the preceding five years to a non-event on our calendar of the growing radicalization. A more honest conclusion for the P.C. majority to draw would be that since we did not denounce the Waffle's nationalism until recently the LSA has been wrong from the start in supporting the Waffle!

No single movement has had more impact on contemporary Canadian class politics in popularizing the concepts of public ownership and in questioning the corporate structures of capitalism than the Waffle in the NDP. To deny this fact and to dismiss the Waffle experience as a debacle is to distort not only our movement's history and the correctness of our past orientation

regarding the Waffle, but to undermine the theoretical heritage and practical experience we have had in the NDP for many years.

Did the Waffle simply "defect" from the NDP, as the P.C. majority states in the Political Resolution? Let us examine exactly what happened. One of the big problems of the Waffle experience all along was how to integrate and direct the newly radicalized forces of the Waffle into the NDP given the objective fact that the radicalization had not yet taken hold among the class as a whole or penetrated deeply into the unions. This problem was dealt with at various points, and was posed in our confrontation with "ouvrierist" ("workerist" – *believers in spontaneous action by the working class –Web ed.*) elements around Jackie Larkin and Andy Wernick during the Texpack strike. These forces ridiculed the approach of "winning the NDP to socialism" and were chafing at the bit to bolt the party and set up a new fringe group of their own.

This problem was posed as a result of the uneven nature of the radicalization of the faster and deeper radicalization of young people in relation to the rest of the working class. Their inexperience and ignorance of what a party like the NDP was all about led many leaders of the Waffle especially Watkins, to shield and even to promote the get-out-of-the-NDP sentiment.

Another factor that strengthened the feeling (for) getting out of the NDP was the stream of Stalinist influence which afflicted the Waffle from its inception and which was clearly anti-NDP and nationalist\* – \*the school of the CP and their long-standing support of independence in Canada (without socialism) in the Cold War framework.

As a result of these objective and subjective factors, the Waffle was not as deeply rooted in the party nor as deeply committed to the strategic importance of the NDP as it should have been. Even following its enormously successful showing at the Federal NDP convention in 1971, the Waffle failed to root itself fully in the NDP.

The essence of our August 1971 critique of the Waffle was not directed against their "nationalism" (which we never objected to) but rather it was directed at the Waffle adherents' rejection of the strategic need for a revolutionary Leninist party to break the class from reformism and to lead a socialist transformation of society. As a corollary to this weakness, the Wafflers also tended to underestimate the degree to which the NDP was rooted in the working class and the trade union movement. These flaws led the Waffle leaders to make a slap-happy, freewheeling intervention in trade union politics, notably their actions around the Auto-pact and Texpack strikes. In addition, these flaws fed the illusions that the established leaderships of the NDP and the trade union movements could somehow be bypassed in the radicalization process or that they could be exposed from outside these structural frameworks. If anything these illusions were strengthened not weakened by the Waffle's surprisingly strong impact in the leadership contest in April.

These theoretical weaknesses, coupled with the flirtations some Wafflers had with ex-Stalinist trade union forces, was behind the Waffle's go-it-alone attitude at the Windsor Auto Pact Conference, which impatiently bypassed work through the official party channels, though it was clear that the NDP would have had to move on these issues eventually. The Windsor confrontation was, in fact, a full, frontal, broadside declaration of war against the UAW brass and this confrontation sent repercussions reeling throughout the top circles of the CLC hierarchy.

With this point of departure, it was relatively easy for the NDP leadership to move in on the Waffle and mobilize the trade union apparatus in preparation for the "kill" (*expulsion of Waffle from the NDP –Web ed.*)

As a result, the Orillia Council meeting was stacked with trade union delegates ready to dispatch the Waffle out of the party on a moment's notice. But the fact remains that the outcome of the Orillia Council "meeting was never in doubt. The negative outcome at Orillia was clearly predictable from an assessment of the objective balance of forces: within the party and the trade union movement and the willingness of the reformist NDP leadership to expel the Waffle even at the risk of splitting the party. The power of the right wing leadership was transparently clear and the relationship of forces would not have been qualitatively different at the subsequent ONDP convention, even if the Waffle leadership had decided to appeal the Riverdale Resolution, which resulted in their forced exit from the party, and which called for the disbanding and gagging of the Waffle and gave the leadership the authority to carry this out. And finally, in outlining the circumstances which resulted in the Waffle's being driven from the party, we should recall the less than expected support that the Waffle had from the riding delegates, of whom quite a few succumbed to the compromise demagogic of the party machine.

The options for the Waffle in this situation were in essence to accept the Riverdale Resolution restrictions and disband or to stay and fight within the party, which would almost certainly have meant expulsion at the subsequent ONDP convention. The Orillia Council meeting constituted clear cut notice by the NDP leadership that a) they would be satisfied with nothing less than the total (*disbanding*) of the Waffle and b) that they were prepared to go to any length to finish off the Waffle, including expulsions, even if they had to be carried out over the outcry of more than half the party membership. In this context, the option chosen by the Waffle -- and the last page has not yet been written -- since as even the P.C. majority nominally admits the direction of the Waffle is still unclear -- can not be described as simply a split, an exit, a defection or a desertion.

Even now, without an active intervention in the NDP, the Waffle still commands broader influence in the NDP than the Left Caucus does. In fact, to this point, the Wafflers have not made an irreversible break in the NDP\* (\*and still maintain membership in the NDP) as well as a line of communication to the better and more dynamic elements within the party.)

Are revolutionists committed at all times to "stay and fight" in the NDP? It is interesting to examine the P.C. majority's comments in the Political Resolution on this point.

But first, let us recall our traditional position. In 1966, we described the hardening process in the NDP and subsequently we concluded that the NDP was the focus of our politics but not necessarily the centre of our activity. We disengaged our forces (too much, in my opinion) from the NDP and oriented to the student movement and the anti-war movement for a period of time in the sixties.

We were right to characterize the NDP as the focus of our politics because that's where the best elements of the working class were and are -- even though the Waffle leadership may have an overly hasty assessment that they might be elsewhere -- and because no significant sector of the working class have broken from the NDP, a point Wafflers have on occasion conceded, speaking of a return to the NDP when the smoke has cleared.

The important question we must deal with is whether we, as revolutionists (though we probably would not have allowed ourselves to be cornered and trapped into the same situation) would not have done the same thing, substantially as the Waffle did, and turned those dynamic new forces to the task of party building --or as the Waffle calls it, movement building of a "true socialist party".

In its simplest terms, our NDP orientation is essential to bring us into contact with radicalizing and politically developing layers of the working class, which at this stage happens to be youth.

The Waffle represented the conjunction of this radicalizing current with the existing political structures of Canada<sup>5</sup>'s working class.

Reduced to its essence, our function was and is, to bring to these radicalizing forces our full program of revolutionary Marxism. Hence, our NDP orientation is consistent with our Leninism. We are out to win these radicalizing layers to Bolshevism and not to try to win them over almost entirely on yesterday's potatoes, the strategic importance of the NDP, which many of them felt we were selling ad nauseum.

#### e) The P.C. majority's NDP line has become unhinged

At this point, let us look at the P.C. majority's written position which attempts to rationalize a schematic and uncritical approach to the NDP, which essentially resulted from their recoiling from the Waffle's alleged "nationalist deviation."

The following surprising formulations find their way Into the Political Resolution:

"The Waffle defection, the only split in the NDP to this point. was a split along **nationalist** lines that took very little of the party's base. There have been no signs of splits to the left of the NDP by any significant body of workers. On the contrary, class conscious workers still tend to be attracted to the NDP."

With the considerable growth of Canadian autonomy pressures in the trade unions, how can we say with any certainty that the "nationalists (and no longer socialists?) took very little of the party's base"? Evidently, this issue is beginning to have quite an impact. Hence, nationalism can still rear its ugly head in the future within the NDP; perhaps from the very same trade unions who voted to boot the Waffle out of the party?

"We are not fetishists," the political resolution continues. "In a **revolutionary** upsurge of the class, all the class's organizations are challenged. Not just the NDP but the trade unions may be bypassed in favour of new forms thrown up in the course of the struggle (action committees, soviets) which more adequately express the needs of the struggle for power."- (emphasis in original--H.K.)

This almost amounts to saying we are not fetishists because we are fetishists. That's a pretty long lease on life to assign to the NDP's social democratic leadership from this early stage of the struggle. While we have traditionally held that the NDP will not be bypassed and that it has hegemony over the politics of the working class at present and for the coming period, we have never assigned the NDP the hallowed place as the organization of the working class until the revolution.

*(See Part 2 following)*

(Part 2 of 2)

What has happened to the following cautioning aspects of our 1970 document on the NDP: "In this period of extreme national and international crises" -- when class antagonisms recurringly take on the most explosive character -- how can one estimate with any degree of accuracy, even over a very limited period of time, where the working class is at, at what stage is its consciousness, and how firm is its adherence to various structures and to various forms of struggle?"

The P.C. majority has gone overboard. Where does this place the role of the revolutionary party which in many **pre**-revolutionary upsurges will flesh out its precious forces and be able to present a real challenge to the reformists' smug, but not unshakeable hegemony over the politically developing Canadian working class, which still lacks the strong historically routed ties that the British working class appears to have to **Labour** (*to the BLP - British Labour Party*) (emphasis by the author).

Where in the P.C. document is the succinct and eminently dialectical formulation that the NDP is both on the road and in the road to socialism? As the NDP gains in strength and influence, it also becomes more rotten. We don't formally divide our orientation to the NDP into two phases, one where the NDP is progressive and advances political consciousness and requires us to mute our criticisms and another phase during which the NDP takes power and becomes an instrument of class collaboration.

Yet the prolific writers of the Political Resolution could not find room anywhere in their lengthy document to reaffirm our traditional analysis of the NDP and to indicate agreement with the note-worthy 1970 document which embodies this analysis, *Our Orientation to the NDP: The Strategy and its Tactical Application*.

A number of comments are in order here on *Labor Challenge*, Sept. 25/72 which gave entirely uncritical support of the NDP during the federal elections in October. While it is true that our press sometimes has to play a dual function in speaking for the left forces in the NDP, we generally try to do so indirectly or through signed articles. The editorial in question however does not fall into this category, it does not address itself to the NDP ranks, but is a totally uncritical presentation of the NDP presumably to the public at large.

(Ed note: 3 quotes from the LC editorial line follow)

"The NDP is a class alternative to the capitalist parties. Its election to power promises not only many needed reforms for working people and the poor; not only class legislation aiding the organization of the unorganized workers" (*tell that to the B.C. labour movement which is battling with the NDP government in B.C. for the repeal of anti-labor laws -- H.K.*).

"... but the election of NDP governments to power constitutes big strides in the path that the working class of this country are going to take towards breaking not only from capitalist electoral politics but from **capitalism as a system** (my emphasis -- H.K.)

"The working class and the oppressed in Canada organized politically in a Labor Party based on the trade union movement is a powerful potential (to be sure-H.K.) force against capitalism... It is through the NDP that the political consciousness of the working-class in Canada is being **forged and shaped**" (my emphasis --H.K.)

Is the class consciousness against "capitalism as a system" really being "forged and shaped" by the NDP experience — asks the uninitiated militant and puzzled *Labor Challenge* reader? He would hardly know what the editors really mean is that this consciousness is only being forged to the extent that conscious socialists intervene in the party and with a program that points out the socialist solutions. The last thing our poor reader would surmise is that *Labor Challenge* is really out to build a mass revolutionary socialist party that can really move in on the radicalization and make sure that the fledgling mobilization of the class doesn't become lost and disillusioned on the quagmire of a Schreyer-like liberal-reformism.

It is also necessary to state that a great deal of the consciousness of the class has been forged entirely outside the NDP -- in the antiwar movement, the women's and youth radicalization — and even the issue of foreign domination injected by the Waffle.

What was going through the heads of the editorial board late that night and since? What, did they hope to achieve with this article? Who was it aimed at?

Given that the press is aimed at the most conscious militants in the NDP and at revolutionary socialists who was it declaiming all this uncritical euphoria about the NDP to? It was addressed to the other side of the coin of the NDP leadership. It was an inverse and twisted polemic with the Waffle, which *Labor Challenge* accused, only three issues previously, of deserting the struggle and to which it now pointed out in great simplistic detail the centrality of the NDP to socialist strategy. In the process of so doing, *Labor Challenge* clearly went overboard all the way to a fetishistic fixation on the NDP. To pull this off, the PC majority had to paint up the NDP in pretty rhetoric, and in the extreme case without a whimper of criticism of the rotten Lewises who had just axed the burgeoning left of the party.

One of the main tasks of our press is to arm the left in the party to deal with the sellouts that Lewis is and will be committing in the name of the class. To be sure, we don't do that in the sectarian simplicity of the Joe Flexers but *Labor Challenge* is entirely remiss in going to the other extreme in acting as a left uncritical appendage in support of the party brass.

It is the height of irony that nowhere in our criticism of Lewis elsewhere during the election did we ever mention the leadership's total sidestepping of the issue of foreign domination, their dragging out during the entire campaign the simple but effective corporate tax ripoff gambit — which to be sure, and in keeping with the times, did inject some class content compared to the previous essentially liberal campaigns of the NDP leadership.

But the issue of Canada-U.S. relations, which the Waffle had posed with such effect in the NDP around the slogan (not ours to be sure) "for an independent socialist Canada" (*a slogan never debated rationally in our movement --web Ed.*) had become a non-issue not only for Lewis but also for the editors of *Labor Challenge* — albeit for entirely different reasons.

Wafflers would have just cause to feel betrayed by *Labor Challenge*, and it is sure that our calls for the building of a revolutionary vanguard party, insofar as they were made in an introductory way, fell on closed ears for Wafflers and elements leaning in their direction as we spent most of our pages in lecturing them on the long term strategic position that the NDP will occupy.

With such a formalistic juxtaposition of our traditional tasks, we could only end up removing ourselves from an effective intervention in the plentiful, radical raw material that has emerged from the turbulent Waffle experience in the NDP.

Neither did we see the last of this overly uncritical stance in the election. It was evident in the Jan. 22/73 editorial in which *Labor Challenge* dealt with the Throne Speech debate. This editorial did not express our concept of critical support of the NDP as a labour party but instead got bogged down in the parliamentary predicaments of its completely rotten leadership. It was not oriented to giving advice to the left wing in how to struggle against the brass, but to giving advice to the NDP leadership itself as to how it should handle itself.

The ultra-left forces would have us, of course, be preaching to the converted about the sellout and "collusion" of Lewis for not forcing a mid-winter election right then and there, but there are some situations on which it is wisest not to comment at all. The major responsibility of *Labor Challenge* was primarily to expose before the party ranks the Lewis leadership's total failure to project concrete alternatives, to counter the parties of big business, to put them on the defensive and in that way to stall off an election.

The LSA/LSO has no obligation to take a position right or wrong on every manoeuvre of Lewis in his phony "balance of power" let along helping the reformists find a way out the mess they've gotten themselves in while being "responsible to Parliament." To do so tends to identify us too much with the brass and their limited perspective, rather than allowing us to stand back and explain the source of the problem (--) the failure of reformism.

There have been earlier and significant signs of the growing catharsis of our NDP work, dating back to the period before the Waffle purge. These criticisms deal not so much with the theory as with the practical aspects of our intervention in the Waffle and the NDP. For instance, the Young Socialists, in my opinion, with their fascination with the concept of a "Red University" have never had a correct sustained orientation to the Waffle since its inception. In the early days when the Waffle first organized a demonstration on the resources sellout issue, but campus forces tended to stand aside and in part we echoed Trudeau's famous line, "If we have water to spare, why not sell it?"

In addition, we kept lecturing the Waffle -- who were not internationalists (but who nevertheless came out to demonstrate) -- that Vietnam was the main issue anyway and that the working-class could not be really radicalized on the issue of energy resources in any case.

The PC majority's vision of having the YS (*the LSA's affiliated Young Socialists*) act as the campus wing of the Waffle was destined to fail with this approach.

Given the un-neveness and the low level of sophistication of some of our approaches to the Waffle, it was in my opinion also wrong to characterize the Waffle as left reformist -- a position we formalized in the 1971 plenum document.

This position is, of course, theoretically defensible -- we made exceptions and characterized Laxer, who more than anyone else shaped the Waffle strategy, as a centrist -- but our characterization tended to shift our intervention into a negative rather than affirmative mode.

To be sure, the hostility to Trotskyism of Watkins and our erstwhile "left reformists" like Jackie Larkin made our intervention as revolutionary socialists quite difficult at times -- but dubbing the Waffle with the same basic definition we apply to the NDP leadership was tactically incorrect. In practice this increased the tendency of comrades to remain on the outside of the Waffle and especially so on the campuses from where the Waffle drew most of its new forces.

It would have served our needs better to have characterized the Waffle more precisely as left social-democratic, and containing many centrist elements including some individuals which were independently coming to revolutionary socialist conclusions.

In abstracting the youth radicalization per se — presumably free of the pernicious nationalism of the Waffle -- the present political resolution on the other hand is nowhere near as reluctant in describing the implicitly assumed revolutionary aspirations of the radicalizing mass movements.

I'm raising this point because I think it is an early point of departure for understanding and explaining the PC "majority's present about-face on the question of nationalism in English Canada and it serves as an example of their stale and narrow application of our Trotskyist theory to the situation confronting us today.

#### **f) Re-establishing a left wing in the NDP**

At what stage of development is the NDP, the first labor party in North America? Despite the fact that (it) is in power in three Western provinces, it is still some distance away from gaining power federally. In Ontario, the major centre of economic power in Canada, with half the country's manufacturing and service industry, it remains the third ranking party. Its electoral support among organized labour has remained nearly constant at almost a third of the unionized vote. In B.C. and Manitoba, the NDP came to power not so much because of an upsurge by the working class as much as because of the disintegration of the old party formations.

How close then is the NDP to being a hardened social democratic formation — the traditional disciplinarian of the working class at the service of capital in the traditions of Wilson's Labour Party or Willy Brandt's (*West German social-democrat*) SPD?

For one thing, Canadian capitalism hasn't been pushed into having to resort to its labour lieutenants despite Lewis's offering — and not so much that the "NDP presents Canada's capitalists with a considerable problem" as the Political Resolution puts it. In Ontario and points east, the NDP is still very much on the outside, looking in. However, it does have an established base and a distinct and growing chance of taking power in the time span of a decade or less.

Can the right-wing consolidate its power and once again harden the NDP as they did in the first half of the sixties? Despite the purge of the Waffle, the NDP is still open to the crosswinds of the radicalization. The leadership has lots of leeway to take a left posture and has been able, in the absence of an organized opposition, to adopt many of the longstanding positions of the left, advocating public ownership of Bell and a takeover of the oil and gas companies. The corporate welfare bum issue gave Lewis a flashy but inexpensive mantle against big business though it functioned at the same time to shield a more penetrating look at the ills of the branch plant economy.

The composition of the NDP today indicates that it is still attracting a considerable number of younger elements with a significant number of those wide open to socialist and revolutionary ideas. The bulk of this activist element is sympathetic to the Waffle and hostile to the brass's purge of the Waffle. But wider layers of the party who are committed to the leadership continue to be affected by debates on women, foreign ownership, U.S. domination of Canada's economy, the issue of public ownership, Vietnam and a number of other issues.

The party is also increasing its support among the traditionally petit-bourgeois elements, teachers, professionals, women, white collar workers and other social layers being affected (by) the radicalization.

There are no guarantees (nor do we require them) that the leadership of the NDP will not be able to harden the party and enforce its stringent reformism on all the sections of it. At present and in the next period, this hardening trend doesn't appear too likely and the openings exist for a sustained and intelligent intervention, albeit on a much more modest scale than that represented by the Waffle. While it is unlikely, it is not entirely excluded that many Waffle adherents could be reactivated in the NDP, especially if some initial momentum were to impel a new left wing forward, or if the leadership were wracked by new crises.

The most deepseated issue in the New Democratic Party is still the issue of foreign domination -- the question of the looting of Canada's resources by giant U.S. corporations at the expense of their development in the interest of the Canadian people. It poses in turn the question of the direction of our economy as a branch plant economy faced with total integration into the continental economy and at the service of mainly American imperialist multinational corporations in which the Canadian capitalist class is a willing and compliant junior partner out to squeeze every last drop of profits from the English Canadian and Québécois workers.

This is an awareness which is rapidly spreading through all but the most sheltered sections of Canadian life, which is permeating the NDP and is also beginning to take hold among broad layers of Canadian workers (as reflected in the Canadian union autonomy movement), as the honeymoon of Canada's special relationship is being jolted by Nixonomics.

It is an awareness intricately related to the innate weakness of Canadian capitalism, its dependent economy and the present threats to all but its resource exports without which it cannot sustain the highest relative influx of manufactured goods of any advanced capitalist country in the world.

Any Left Caucus which does not connect with and develop this deepening radicalization which is the essence of this new nationalism is condemned to be a gutless wonder from the start.

It has been noted by the P.C. majority that the NDP has made some small but significant gains among the younger white collar and professional strata. It is my impression that the issue which has been most influential in breaking this element away from their traditional capitalist voting pattern has been the awakening of foreign domination, including the distortion and limitation of Canadian technology, manufacturing, the export of jobs, the brain drain, all of which have made this layer receptive to concepts of public ownership, to elemental socialist ideas.

An interesting challenge faces the pan-Canadian section in developing a program for the upcoming Federal Convention of the NDP. Aside from issues on which we have a clearly defined position, such as women, Quebec, Vietnam, etc., we must rejuvenate and develop, rather than dump, our program on foreign domination of resources and the economy. All the more is this important because the MacKenzie Pipeline and the Arctic development will probably be the major economic issue at the B.C. convention.

The NDP left wing has an opportunity to confront the party with the need for a program which begins with a moratorium and a thorough stocktaking of resource exploitation, and demands public ownership under workers control of all facets of the resource industry, and its diversification into secondary manufacturing and processing.

Also on the agenda for the NDP is the question of public ownership of the banks which funnel Canadian portfolio capital abroad and underwrite the U.S. takeovers. Clearly the question of a planned, socialist economy directed by and run for the benefit of the working people of this country is posed in a most auspicious manner.

On the question of the Federal Caucus' role in the illusory balance of power situation, an issue which will recede into the background, we should not fall into the trap of the sectarians or get hung up on the way Lewis ended up voting to stave off a winter election. Rather than denouncing the "collusion" and "sellout" of Lewis -- charges which, at best, are difficult to substantiate — we must direct our fire at their passive, almost totally uncritical acceptance of the pittance thrown to the aged and working people and the failure of the brass to project thoroughgoing, socialist alternatives which could enable the NDP to retain the initiative in going into the inevitable elections.

With regard to the scandalous rip-offs in the food industry, the left might well ask why the NDP was hamstrung to this effete parliamentary committee? Why could it not move beyond the parliamentary confines, and call for a rollback of the record profits of the food industry (31% increase in 1972)? Why did the NDP not call for protests and demonstrations at the House by labour and sectors of the NDP? Why can the party not encourage irate housewives and initiate neighbourhood action committees on food prices by women, trade unionists, pensioners, etc.? Why could they not call for a seizure of the books of the big wholesale and distribution conglomerates that bilk their own workers, and farmers and the consumers? And why not counterpose public ownership of any non-compliant corporation?

Also, why is the NDP leadership not taking any steps to build a labour-socialist based alternative press so clearly needed when 'you look at the results of the last Ontario election?

The NDP leadership too is faced with important problems in its treatment of labour issues. Now that the unions are being forced increasingly to turn to a political offensive with the wave of anti-labour legislation and fulminating hate-labour propaganda in the media, (while) the party brass is taking a tongue-in-cheek approach (viz., *[B.C. NDP Premier]* Barrett and his *(inherited Social Credit government.)* Sacred labour laws) and Lewis and his urgings of "hold the line" and no more "extravagant" wage demands to the 1972 CLC convention. Where is the NDP confronting the capitalist class with the demand for full employment, for a shorter work week at the same pay rate, for a redistribution of work to eliminate the built-in unemployment for which workers, not the corporate welfare bums, are paying the major costs? Where is the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours to keep pace with inflation? Where is the NDP demanding meaningful and socially purposeful work for the many young people, for the women who are entering the work force? Where is there anything in the NDP program to put the new technology and automation to the benefit of the working people first, for technology to cease being the exclusive prerogative of management and its ossified, antiquated structures? Where is the NDP's support to and program for organizing white collar and women workers?

Many of these issues in addition to the ones already adopted bear developing as our forces in the left caucus, attempt to work out a program together with militants in other sections of the NDP.

Such a programmatic challenge to the brass is a prerequisite to bring into motion indigenous forces in the NDP's rank and file. With such a program, we can begin to demonstrate the inadequacy of the liberal-reformist leadership of the NDP, to establish ourselves as the socialists in the NDP ranks, to gain a hearing from the most conscious elements within the party for our full revolutionary socialist program expressed by *Labor Challenge*. If circumstances permit and the left forces in the party can bring wider layers to unite in a challenge to the party leadership around a socialist program, around a program which provides answers and solutions to the key problems Canada's working class is faced with, around a transitional program, than the possibilities of rebuilding a left wing in the party will increase immeasurably. And in this way too, we will avoid the narrow sectarian, ouvrierist approach of the manifesto writers and also the P.C. majority's unwarranted and sterile crusade against "nationalist deviation".

## **g) Conclusions**

With the advantage of hindsight on our NDP work in the past few months, the following conclusions are in order.

In practice in our adaptation to the ultralefts in the Left Caucus on one hand and to the party brass on the other hand (most clearly seen in *Labour Challenge*'s totally uncritical endorsement of the NDP brass during the elections) we can see that the PC majority's NDP line is floundering on troubled waters indeed.

In essence the (*our LSA advice --ed.*) "stay and fight" simplicity of the Delaware conference was more prompted by the PC majority's mission against the Waffle's supposed cop-out on socialism in favour of nationalism, of which there isn't a shred of evidence, than on a realistic assessment of where the ONDP was at after Orillia.

In the leadership's formulation of our NDP orientation, this has reflected itself in a distorted elevation of the tactical aspects; that is, the scope and level of our intervention in the NDP at any given time, to an over-commitment, almost an article of faith. **This flows from the anti-Waffle fury of the PC majority. As a byproduct, we see the euphoric lapses in our press, the muting of our criticism of the NDP leadership, which cannot be explained in any other context. (Ed highlight)**

Rather than more soberly assessing the post-Orillia situation in the NDP and accepting the Waffle's action as more good than bad or at least recognizing that they were presented with a fait accompli, the PC majority set the movement up for total exclusion from this formation, with its stupid scuttling of our established line on the new nationalism and its false preachings in the name of our NDP orientation. In the process we removed ourselves from hundreds of rapidly radicalizing new socialist elements, many of which are wide open to revolutionary ideas. How else, but from primarily a Leninist vantage point can one explain our NDP strategy to such radicalizing forces?

Ironically, at the same time we could have been able to continue our NDP orientation and no doubt convince quite a few of the Wafflers and MISC\*-Wafflers (*\*Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada, the successor to Waffle outside the NDP -- Web Ed.*) of our correct strategy to the NDP and in that way we would have more weight in any future irreversible rejection of the NDP by the Waffle.

However, back in the Left Caucus, thanks to the ultralefts and the PC majority's naive adaptations to them, the task of rebuilding the NDP left wing in Ontario is today not much further ahead than it was at the Delaware conference. Given the paralysis of the leadership, our NDP intervention is grinding to a halt and is today more rhetoric than substance.

The fruits of the PC majority's new found wisdom on the question of nationalism have proven to be an unmitigated disaster for our forces in the NDP.

April 5, 1973

# The NEW STAGE

in



# CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS

## THE NEW STAGE IN CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS

### INTRODUCTION (1980 edition)

The following is a contribution by some leading socialist activists constituting themselves as the United Tendency in a discussion that took place in the League for Socialist Action/La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. Its authors subsequently formed part of the nucleus of the Socialist League (*publishers of the journal Forward appearing on this website—ed.*)

Much has happened since it was written in the spring of 1973. For instance in the section "Nationalism and the Class Forces", it only touches upon the issue of Canadian trade union autonomy, which proved to be the overriding issue at the 1974 Canadian Labor Congress convention. Nonetheless, we feel that this contribution has more than stood the test of time. It remains one of the key contributions to the debate on Canadian nationalism and continues to mark out the most important and key guide posts.

As the title suggests, it is itself an elaboration and extension of the document "Canada-U.S. Relations – A Socialist View-point" issued by Vanguard Publications four years earlier in 1968.

## THE NEW STAGE IN CANADA-U.S. RELATIONS

Canada, an advanced capitalist and imperialist nation-state, is an integral part of the world imperialist system.

As such, it is subject to all the broad general social and economic contradictions which plague that system and which are now being aggravated.

As has been noted elsewhere, the long period of imperialist expansion, generated by accelerated technological renovation in the advanced capitalist countries, has resulted in significant changes. In the United States, France, Italy, Japan, etc., there has been a veritable revolution in the social structures, a more thoroughgoing industrialization of the economy, a rapid decline in the importance of the agricultural sector of the economy, and a sustaining of the boom through the deliberate and systematic institution of permanent credit and monetary inflation. These processes had their parallel in Canada too.

On the basis of this overall analysis, we have reached three conclusions:

(1) that the essential motor forces of this long-term expansion would progressively exhaust themselves, thus setting off a more and more marked intensification of inter-imperialist competition; (2) the anti-recessionary techniques would step up world wide inflation and constant erosion of the buying power of currencies, finally producing a very grave crisis in the international monetary system; and (3) that these two factors, in conjunction, would increasingly give rise to limited recessions of the imperialist economy.

However, the growing instability of the world imperialist system and its impact on Canada cannot be understood without, above all, grappling with the specific and particular relationship Canada has with the United States of America. The expansion of the world market, increasing trade, the rise of the multi-national corporation and the process of interpenetration of capital among the major powers have exacerbated competition among them. But this process finds a peculiar expression between the world's major imperialist power, the United States, and Canada.

The developing imperialist crisis has resulted in the breakdown of old alignments; US capitalism has been confronted by attempts on the part of the bourgeoisies of several European states to work out new protective alliances directed primarily against it — notably, the formation of the European Economic Community. However, in US capitalism's relations with the ruling class of Canada, the opposite has been the case. The US, with longstanding investments in Canada, has found an open door for an accelerated penetration of the Canadian economy through a massive flood of capital — particularly since the late fifties and sixties.

The international monetary crisis has resulted in increasing conflict among the major capitalist powers, with the US trying to pass the cost of inflation and declining capacity to compete onto Japan and West Germany. In Canada, on the other hand, the monetary crisis has resulted in the Canadian dollar becoming locked into the American dollar. Instead of a heightened trade war between the US and Canada, the collapse of Canada's preferential trade relations with Britain has driven Canada into ever increasing, if not almost total dependency on the US. Instead of acting to block the influx of US capital into Canada, the Canadian bourgeoisie has opened the doors to a flood so massive that the ownership of the key industries and control of the financial institutions have passed into US hands. Instead of increasing rivalry between US and Canadian capital, we have been witness over the past two decades to a process of integration of the advanced capitalist economy of Canada into the economy of the United States.

This development has had profound effects on the dynamics of class relations in Canada and the processes of the class struggle itself. Since the turn of the century and accelerating during the first and second world wars, and coinciding with Britain's decline as a world power, the Canadian economy has become increasingly locked into the US economy — not only through trade, but through the structuring of its industry. Branch plants and industries were developed to supply both raw and partially finished material to the US parent plants, and to take advantage of the British preferential tariff system. In the forties and fifties the US capitalist class and its state worked out a series of mutually satisfactory preferential arrangements with the Canadian ruling class and its state, and steadily increased its investments in Canada. Commencing in the early sixties the penetration of US capital into Canada underwent a vast acceleration.

US direct investment in 1946 stood at \$2.3 billion. By 1963, It had risen to \$12.8 billion and in 1971 it reached \$24 billion, with some statisticians estimating the true value to be double that. In the space of eight years, US investment in Canada had increased twofold.

The Canadian economy has become further locked into the US economy through trade. By 1970, almost 70% of Canada's imports came from the US and almost 68% of her exports went to the US. While the flow of capital investment has been a two-way process among the world's major imperialist powers (an interpenetration), it has been almost entirely a one-way process between Canada and the US – from the US into Canada. Through takeovers, amalgamations and corporate fusions, and through the formation of new corporations for the exploitation of the natural resources and workforce of Canada, US investment in established Canadian industries has reached such scope that the key sectors of the economy, almost 60% of all manufacturing assets, are owned, not to speak of those that are controlled by US capital. In addition, the banks and the financial institutions, while possibly even majority-owned by Canadian corporate wealth, are controlled by US corporate interests. Thus between Canadian and US capital and their states, we do not have a situation of inter-imperialist rivalry but a situation where the Canadian capitalist class and its state have facilitated the domination of US capital over the Canadian economy. The Canadian capitalists are junior partners with US corporate power, both in the world political arena (where they are very junior) and within the borders of the Canadian nation state itself.

### **Canada and Imperialism**

Canada is imperialist, but its international role cannot be said to be the role of an independent imperialist power. In relationship to its wealth and power at home, Canadian capitalism's foreign holdings are of modest proportions, slightly over two billion dollars, and concentrated in the advanced capitalist sector of the world. Its colonial investments are modest and offer little leverage.

Canada is imperialist primarily by the fact that it has an advanced capitalist economy and is structurally an integral part of the world wide imperialist system. Canada is imperialist, not as an independent economic or military power, but through its de jure existence -- as an independent nation-state – from a political point of view – as a "free" associate member of the US imperialist-dominated military alliances NATO-NORAD, and as mouthpiece, apologist and agent for US imperialism in such counter-revolutionary assaults as the attempt to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

### **A Colony or Semi-Colony?**

The fact that the Canadian economy has many features of an underdeveloped economy (the bulk of its exports are raw and semi-finished goods while its imports are manufactured goods), and the catalogue of facts that show the subservient role of its ruling class to the US capitalist class and its continental and world wide interests – these factors have posed the question whether Canada is actually a colony or semi-colony of the United States. Canada is neither. US investment in Canada has distorted the development of the Canadian economy, but has not blocked its development. On the contrary, it has immeasurably advanced the pace of its industrialization. Canada has an advanced capitalist economy. The weight of agriculture in its economy has declined, and there is no agrarian question such as is typical of colonial or semi-colonial countries.

The urban population is growing and the working class is organized along independent class lines, both economically and politically, against both US and Canadian capital and against the Canadian state. Canada is firmly in the ranks of the advanced capitalist imperialist nation-states.

### **The Canadian State**

US ownership and control of the commanding heights of the Canadian economy and the integration of the Canadian and US economies have posed questions as to the nature of the Canadian state and its role. As US domination and economic integration have increased, the Canadian state has not become stronger as a defender of private Canadian capitalist interests; it has reconciled whatever conflicts there have been with American capital in the overall interests of the whole. This function has been added to the state's other function of reconciling the conflicting interests of the Canadian capitalist class into a cohesive national policy – both as regards 1) the demands pressing in on them by such antagonistic forces as the working class and the oppressed nationalities – the Québécois, Native peoples, etc, and 2) its external interests, determined largely by the domination of US capitalism.

The US capitalist class has no reason to undermine the authority and integrity of the Canadian state as an instrument of class oppression within the nation-state itself. It certainly has no purpose in eliminating the Canada-US border through formal absorption of Canada into the US. On the contrary, both US and Canadian capitalists have common interests in sustaining the state in its role, and have every cause to assure its continued authority.

The central state apparatus of Canada has always been weak, particularly due to the nationalist opposition of the Québécois and to centrifugal regional stresses from one coast to the other. This weakness of the federal state has increased all the more under the impact of the growing domination of Canada by American capital. With little internal dissension, the Canadian capitalist class has acquiesced to its state taking on many of the characteristics of a satellite of the US. With the commanding positions in the Canadian economy being held by US capital and with the interlocking of trade, the Canadian capitalist class has no alternative. So, too, the weakness of its imperialist holdings and its dependency on the US for protection give them no other option.

The Canadian nation-state, as a "fortress-state" and as a power independent of US capitalism and its state, is a dream, not of any important sector of the Canadian capitalist class, but of the Stalinists in their subservience to the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, and of the social-democratic reformist NDP parliamentarians who aspire to administer it. It has little basis in reality.

As Marxists, we make no moral judgment on Canadian-US economic integration and we do not project a program to either aid or deter this process. We seek to understand if – as an objective fact and to direct the effects it has on the configuration of class relations and on the process of the class struggle itself, to the advantage of the Canadian and international socialist revolution.

## **The Internationalism of the New Radicalization**

The new radicalization that arose across Canada in the early sixties was permeated with the spirit of internationalism. It was inspired by the Black struggle in the US, by the Chinese and the Cuban revolutions, by the revolt of the colonized people of Africa, and by the Vietnamese revolution.

This radicalization among widening layers of the Canadian population, particularly among the student youth, soon came up against the Canadian government, even though this same government had been able for a period to adapt to it with some success. The first big blow to non-class illusions about the Canadian state came with Prime Minister Pearson's sudden reversal and capitulation to Washington's pressure to accept US-controlled nuclear arms as part of the expansion of US military sites across the Canadian north at the height of the cold war. This was followed by a whole series of events, among them Ottawa's compliance with US government regulations forbidding US-owned Canadian based industries from trading with Cuba and China, countries with which the left identified. But the most significant impact on the left was made by Ottawa's complete underwriting of Washington's genocidal assault on the Vietnamese revolution.

As part of the US dominated military alliances NATO-NORAD, the Canadian government not only became a major arms supplier to the Pentagon war machine, but a chief apologist for US imperialism, particularly through its role on the International Control Commission. The slogan that we revolutionary socialists raised in the face of considerable opposition from both the Communist Party and the reformist NDP (*the Canadian labor-based New Democratic Party—ed.*) and trade union leaderships was "End Canada's Complicity". This slogan, which was rapidly picked up in all the antiwar actions, accurately expressed both opposition to US imperialism and opposition to the Canadian bourgeoisie's diplomatic and military support for the American government's international counter-revolutionary role.

It was during this period that the flood of US capital into Canada took on massive proportions. US corporations bought up innumerable plants, phased out others, displaced thousands of jobs, erected new operations and even whole new communities, and moved in a big scale to exploit the vast and largely untapped natural resources of the country for the profit of US corporate power. At the same time the Quebec nationalist ferment began to take on a new scope. The cross-Canada radicalization solidarized with the Québécois even to the extent of seeing broad parallels (if not complete identity) between the Quebec struggle and the struggle of the colonial peoples. At this time, the view that Canada itself had become a "colony" of the US began to take root and find support among growing numbers on the Canadian left.

## **Anti-Imperialism**

The major feature of the new radicalization was and continues to be its internationalism.

Its internationalism has been expressed as anti-imperialism, directed primarily against the United States, the world's major imperialist power. This anti- imperialism has always contained a nationalist element. Moreover, with the rising flood of US capital into Canada more and more directing Canadian development and determining Canadian state policy, this nationalist element has grown tremendously in recent years. The radicalization, however, remains essentially anti-imperialist and continues to move in an anti-capitalist and socialist direction, even in its growing nationalist framework.

Despite some aborted ventures by the Communist Party and an occasional effort by some elements on the student left, anti-imperialism in Canada has not taken on the form of an anti -imperialist movement as such, a movement that directs its fire against the main enemy somewhere else (the US, for instance) rather than the capitalist enemy at home.

The role of the Canadian government and the Canadian capitalist class as junior partners of US imperialist interests has blocked this. Anti-imperialism in Canada has directed its fire at the enemy at home, the Canadian capitalist class and its political representatives, both in its actions and its politics.

This anti- imperialist sentiment, we noted in "Canada-U.S. Relations – A Socialist Viewpoint," was developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. Even where the forces organized around this sentiment explicitly called themselves nationalist, as in the case of the Waffle (*a large left-wing current in the New Democratic Party –ed.*), they rejected any concept of an anti-imperialism that concentrated its fire on a foreign enemy. In its 1968 ``Manifesto,`` the Waffle rejected the concept of "an independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists or in public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations." It went anti-capitalist- - into the NDP.

This anti-imperialism, even where it has explicitly called itself nationalist, has not been anti-US working class. It has seen the American workers, and in particular Blacks and student radicals, as allies against US capitalism. To be sure, there has been a certain impatience and even a superior attitude to the US workers for their toleration of the trade union bureaucracy at the head of the international unions and for supporting the big business American political parties.

In its opposition to the Canadian government, anti-imperialism began very early to turn to the newly formed and relatively open New Democratic Party. The so-called Watkins report on the scope of US investment in Canada, sponsored by the Canadian government, established what the left already sensed, and provided the facts for an objective explanation of the role of the Canadian capitalist class, a rudimentary class analysis, and carried its author and the new radicalization fully into the NDP. The result was the "Manifesto for an Independent and Socialist Canada" and the formation of the Waffle, the largest and broadest left wing formation in the history of Canadian reformist labor politics.

### **The New Canadian Nationalism**

The new Canadian nationalism is not a negation of the anti-US imperialism that we noted

in "Canada-U.S. Relations – A Socialist Viewpoint," but an extension of it. That is what makes it a key element in the unfolding radicalization.

It is false to counter-pose internationalism — proletarian internationalism — to this new nationalism. This nationalism is not chauvinist. It is not against the American workers. It is not federalist, in opposition to Quebec's right to self-determination. It is anti-imperialist and thus essentially internationalist.

This nationalism is not at all an ideological expression of the interests of Canadian capitalism, of private property and the Canadian state, which vigorously oppose it. The Canadian bourgeoisie counter-poses an internationalism — to be sure, a mystified form of internationalism — to this nationalism. They attack the opposition to energy development in the North as standing in the way of continental progress. They harass the ecologists as conservatives and parochialists standing in the way of human progress.

They denounce those concerned about the development of natural resources in the interests of the working people, as lacking vision of a North American economy whose benefits, they allege, all will share.

In their opposition to the status quo, Canadian nationalists are searching for justification in the historic past of Canada — its progressive and revolutionary past. Thus, we have Léandre Bergeron's "Le Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Québec" not only a best seller in Quebec, but a best-seller in English Canada (over 200,000 copies have been sold). Thus, there are demonstrations in honor of revolutionary heroes like Mackenzie and Papineau. Thus, there are numerous tracts and studies and university theses on the 1837 rebellions, on the martyrdom of Louis Riel, and on the Winnipeg General Strike. There has been a great flourishing of interest in the struggles of the Native peoples, in Canada's revolutionary-democratic traditions, in the labor and socialist movement, in Canada's pioneer feminists, etc.

### **A Relentless Opposition**

The LSA/LSO majority leadership — while it recognizes that almost the entire left is nationalist (although they offer no explanation of this phenomenon) — call for a "persistent and relentless campaign... to resist and turn back" its influence. This led them to reverse their entire attitude to the broad left Waffle formation and to make its supposed reactionary nationalism the crucial determinant in their relations with it as it moved, under the assault of the right wing, out of the NDP.

This policy continues to threaten revolutionary socialist work in the NDP where this new nationalism is a vital factor in a left differentiating itself from the reformist leadership. The left wing, bereft of Waffle-MISC (*Waffle became known as the Movement for an Independent and Socialist Canada after its expulsion from the NDP – ed.*) , is now isolated and under pressures, on the one hand, to adapt to the right, and on the other, to swing out in an ultraleft direction that threatens all the revolutionary socialists' work in the NDP with disaster. The LSA/LSO campaign against nationalism

has also served to blind it to the continued development of the Waffle-MISC outside of the NDP, and the challenge it poses for the adherence of new forces to Trotskyism.

We oppose such an evaluation of this nationalism and the orientation that flows from it. We see this new nationalism as an integral part of the deepening radicalization. We see it as essentially progressive in its thrust — progressive in that it raises the class question in this country and leads to a heightened internationalist consciousness.

### **The Nature of Nationalism**

How are we to explain this nationalism arising in an advanced capitalist country at this time?

In itself, nationalism has neither a reactionary nor progressive character in the abstract. We are required to make a concrete analysis, within definite historic limits, and to take into account the specific features under which the phenomenon arises.

Classically — that is, in the broad historic sense — nationalism is bourgeois. It first appeared during the rise of capitalism, in the struggle of the nascent capitalist class to establish the nation state as a framework for the expansion of private property, freedom of enterprise and trade. In this early stage in the development of capitalism, nationalism had a fundamentally progressive character. As well as serving the interests of capitalist progress, nationalism contained and expressed a profoundly democratic concept — the concept of popular sovereignty — of a motherland which claims to represent the people as a whole, its vast majority, and which grants and defend their liberties and gives them a conscious stake in shaping its future.

In the imperialist stage of development, in the epoch of capitalist decay, however, nationalism in those countries which have established their national independence and sovereignty takes on a fundamentally reactionary character. It serves as an instrument of the capitalist class to mystify its rule, to delude the workers, to deter them from developing a class consciousness and organizing along independent class lines. It has been used to pit them against one another in inter-imperialist and colonial wars.

### **A New Phenomenon**

Today in Canada, when we live in the imperialist stage of development, one might automatically assume that nationalism is an instrument of bourgeois rule and is reactionary to the core. We are obliged however, to undertake a more concrete, a more specific examination of Canadian reality within the broader historical and international framework.

We can summarize in the following way the specific circumstances and historical conditions that have led to the radicalization expressing national aspirations:

Because of the historic delay of the Canadian-US socialist revolution which will lead to the realization of a Socialist United States of the North American continent, a process of integration or absorption of the economy of Canada with that of the mightiest imperialist power in the world is taking place under capitalism. This has resulted in the widespread and growing development in English Canada over the past several years of a nationalism — a phenomenon which is traditionally part of an earlier bourgeois stage of development.

Due to the distorted and weak development of Canadian capitalist society, the Canadian bourgeoisie and their state acquiesce to this process of integration and by so doing violate these growing national aspirations. Arising as they do at a time of increasing capitalist crisis in Canada and across the world, and at a time of widening radicalization, these national aspirations lead toward conflict with the Canadian state, and toward a linking with the tasks of the Canadian and international socialist revolution.

Thus, Canadian nationalism has arisen today in response to a process of growing economic integration of Canada with the US. To our knowledge, the phenomenon of one advanced capitalist and imperialist nation being economically integrated, in a cold way, with another advanced capitalist and imperialist power is something new and unforeseen by the Marxist movement, except perhaps in an abstract and speculative way. It is the product of a unique set of historical circumstances — namely, the uneven development and evolution of world capitalism as a whole in transition to socialism, in conjunction with the historically uneven development of Canadian capitalism vis-à-vis American capitalism. This historically unique situation has resulted in what can only be described as a new type of nationalism.

### **The Essence of the New Nationalism**

To be sure, this new nationalism finds contradictory expressions; for instance, in the unmistakably bourgeois nationalist Committee for an Independent Canada, designed, according to its chief spokesman Prof. Rotstein, to provide a counter-pole of attraction to the Waffle and NDP. Is this radicalization within its nationalist framework then ambivalent — requiring on the one hand a sympathetic, and on the other a hostile response on our part? Is this then only a matter of tactical orientation?

No! While composed of opposing aspects which take on different appearances or forms of expression, this nationalism contains an essence which is progressive. The necessary conditions for its production and reproduction are objectively present and operative. Nor is the anti-US imperialism, dealt with in “Canada-U.S. Relations – A Socialist Viewpoint”, some mere sentiment, only flimsily connected with reality. Both constitute the reflection in the collective consciousness of the radicalizing forces of the increasing domination by US capital over the Canadian economy and the acquiescence of the Canadian capitalist class to it. This has resulted in a heightened understanding in the ranks of the radicalization of the role of the Canadian capitalist class and the relationship of other classes to it. This analysis found vindication in the fact that the youth radicalization, permeated as it was with nationalism, moved into the NDP and found expression in the Waffle, giving an unprecedented breadth and scope to the

socialist forces.

What establishes the progressive essence of this nationalism — what gives it its radical thrust — is the process that has led to the integration of the Canadian economy with that of the US under capitalism, and the effect that this process has had on class relations and the dynamics of the class struggle.

### **Nationalism and the Class Forces**

First and foremost, integration has drastically weakened the Canadian state, and not only as an instrument capable of expressing the interests of any private Canadian capital that might find itself opposed to US capitalist interests.

It has also weakened the state, from the point of view of its credibility as an instrument of democratic rule — the illusion that hides its fundamental character as an instrument of class oppression which is its main source of strength. It increasingly appears as an agency of something totally alien to radicalizing Canadians — US corporate power.

Nationalism finds little expression among the Canadian bourgeoisie which is firmly committed to its junior partner relationship with American capitalism. This is not surprising, as the integration of their economic interests has inevitably tended towards what might be described as a social integration of the owners and representatives of Canadian and US capital. Their common outlook is reinforced by an unusual degree of inter-marriage, common club affiliations, common educational background, etc. Hence, it is not unusual for the members of both bourgeoisies to almost intuitively respond and make adjustments so that their relations are not ruptured.

Nationalism, however, has found some response among a few disenchanted high government officials and bourgeois ideologues. Thus, we see ex-Liberal cabinet minister and nationalist Walter Gordon calling for public ownership of the Mackenzie Pipeline, and ex-Liberal cabinet minister and nationalist Eric Kierans urging public ownership of Manitoba's mining industry over the next ten years. Kierans' report has been condemned by the Manitoba Mining Association as a "communist document, foreign to any Canadian thinking on the mining industry."

Rising Canadian nationalism is very much an expression of the alienation and radicalization of widening sectors of the higher skilled elements in the work force — scientists, technicians in every field, teachers, etc. The US subsidiaries and branch plants develop almost no research in their Canadian operations, but draw on the advanced technology developed by the US parent companies. At the same time, the vast majority of Canadian government grants for research and development (98% in 1968-69), as to be expected, go to the dominant capitalist force in the country — to foreign owned, largely US corporations. Research projects in the universities are designed to meet US corporate need, as was clearly revealed to wide layers of the radicalization during the escalation

of war research for the war in Vietnam. This has increasingly posed the issue of Americanization of the universities, widely discussed on Canadian campuses.

Canadian nationalism is growing in the working class, which has only been moderately affected by the radicalization until now. The international unions have provided an increased potential (seldom realized) for united labor action against corporations which span the border. However, the more powerful US trade union bureaucracy has also strengthened the Canadian trade union bureaucracy. In this context, Canadian nationalism is giving impetus and new dimension to the rank-and-file struggle against the bureaucracy and for union democracy.

The new nationalist mood is by no means limited to the Canadian unionism of small service and craft unions, long sufferers of the imposed bureaucracy of international office staff appointees. It is hitting such unions as the United Steelworkers and the Auto workers (*the Canadian section of the UAW, predecessor to the Canadian Auto Workers, the CAW –ed.*) which already have considerable autonomy within the internationals.

Canadian UAW director Dennis McDermott recently warned that "unless the international unions make some fairly drastic accommodations and adjustments... to the fervent nationalistic attitudes that pervade this country. .their very survival as an effective entity is questionable." McDermott appears to have drafted a list of proposals designed to give the UAW even greater structural autonomy. In Steel, there have been a whole series of applications which, if granted certification votes, could take the interior B.C. locals outside the internationals, into Canadian unions.

There is no question that this nationalism is profoundly altering the dynamics of class relations within Canada and the processes of the class struggle itself. Our responsibility as Canadian revolutionary socialists is to come to grips with it, to recognize its key role in the radicalization so that we can effectively propagandize our revolutionary socialist views and build the vanguard party.

We are for "identification" with this nationalism, not to achieve "one-ness" with it (as, we have been informed, the Oxford Dictionary defines the word). We are for working within this nationalism which permeates the entire left. While we will oppose any and all adaptations to its backward expressions, we will project our Marxist analysis and present our program of democratic and transitional demands in a way which will link to the essentially anti-capitalist dynamic of this new nationalism. In so doing, we will not become nationalists or some breed of national communists; on the contrary, we will be acting as Trotskyists — as internationalists — which we are to the core.

— April 3, 1973

FOOTNOTE

We have been challenged to produce a program to meet the varied forms of expression that the new nationalism takes on in the areas where we are working to raise the class consciousness and combativity of the workers, feminists, students, etc.

The first responsibility of Marxists is to analyze a phenomenon in order to develop a general orientation to it. We must first answer the following questions: Is there a new nationalism? What is its source? How does it express itself? What are its forms? How does it influence class relations?

Only after developing an overall understanding and a line, can we outline or advance a program. And even then, the program can only be an approximation and will continue to grow and develop with our experiences in the unfolding class struggle and in the living process. We will have to project our ideas, to test them and to learn from our mistakes.

Since there are no uncompleted tasks of the classic nationalist type, since there are no broad bourgeois-democratic tasks in Canada, we have said that our programmatic intervention must centre around an amplification of our democratic and transitional demands.

It seemed apparent long ago, when the US-owned Crown Zellerback Corporation began phasing out the plant and entire town of Ocean Falls, that we would have called on the B.C. NDP Government to take the plant over, without compensation, and turn it over to the democratic control of the workers or possibly the Native movement. It would also seem obvious that we would enthusiastically endorse public ownership of Manitoba's resource industries, particularly the Thompson Lake International Nickel operation, which would be certain to have a radicalizing impact on Sudbury workers. A program along these lines would enable us to intervene in the Mackenzie Pipeline debate, which cannot be done under a banner of anti-nationalism. Our intervention in this debate would express, programmatically, the interests of the Canadian working class and the concept of Native peoples' and workers' control.

*(end)*

party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies.

We believe that in the interests of our party and in recognition of the years of effort that have gone into the formation of an NDP government, the time has now come for the government to turn towards socialism and to work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C.

Members of the Provincial Executive

Ron Anderson  
Alan Artibise  
Terri Ash  
Hans Brown  
Melodie Corrigall  
John Gates  
Roger Howard  
Mike Lebowitz  
Sven Robinson  
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Hilda Thomas  
Sharon Yandle

# Two Manifestoes

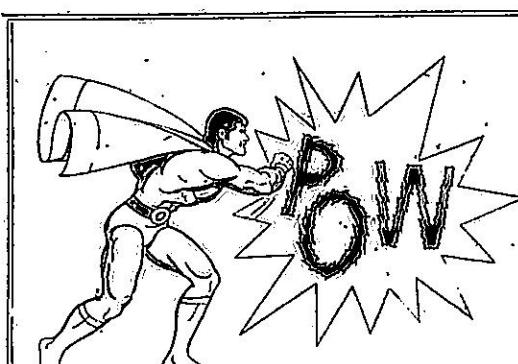
For a Radical,  
Revitalized N D P

Turn Toward  
Socialism

PRESENTED TO THE ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION  
SUDBURY - SEPTEMBER 1975  
AND TO THE BC - NDP CONVENTION  
SEPTEMBER 1975

These manifestoes were reproduced in FORWARD, a monthly paper of news, discussion and analysis of the labor and socialist struggle on the Canadian and international arena.

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# For a Radical, Revitalized NDP

We, the undersigned members of the New Democratic Party, are deeply troubled about our party; its direction, its low morale, its apparent inability to persuade and excite people.

We have just witnessed in the past Federal election a decrease in our popular vote, and worse, an erosion of our vote in some working class areas. We call these *defeats*.

*We reject the explanation that our recent electoral defeats were failures of technique or due to shortages of funds.* We have examples to disprove such explanations. These are only a few: Spadina and St. Paul's had far more funds and paid workers this time, but our vote plunged. Trinity had virtually no money or organization: the vote decreased, but no more than it did in ridings with well-financed and — organized campaigns. York South's campaign could hardly have been improved on in terms of organization, literature, numbers of workers and signs, and we all know the sad result.

We know that it isn't a satisfactory answer to say that large numbers of people were so unversed by minority government and so frightened by the threat of a wage and price freeze that they decided to play it safe and change their votes from N.D.P. to the presumed majority party. For one thing, no one has done the sort of in-depth analysis that would show this was so. But even if it were the case, wouldn't it prove that we had failed miserably to give the voters positive reasons for voting N.D.P.?

We fear, however, that easy an-

swers will be found and accepted for our electoral defeats, that many members will shrug them off as mere "set backs" or the result of dirty tricks by the opposition or black outs by the press. *And if that happens we'll continue to make the same mistakes:* trying to win with catchy slogans, spending money we don't have, concentrating on the issue the press and opposition are pushing, and relying heavily on election campaigns to gain ground.

Suppose we were to win large numbers of seats through the use of catchy slogans, great sums of money, brilliant organization, lawn signs for every positive voter. Would it mean that we could govern? *Winning that way might really amount to losing — losing whatever integrity and principles we have.*

*There is clearly a difference between government and power.* To have power — to govern effectively — we must have a "mass base." We must persuade large numbers of people of what we stand for, and we must be sure of what we stand for. Otherwise, we may form a government without power. We have seen examples of such governments. The Barrett Government had to dilute their Land Commission Act because the majority was not behind it, knew nothing about it beforehand, and therefore allowed big business to stampede public opinion against it. To give an extreme example, Allende was murdered, his government overthrown. *The mass base must be established before an election; after may be too late.*

Persuading people to vote N.D.P. IS important, but it is not enough. Persuading people to be New Democrats is a lot tougher. And it is

not the same kind of job the opposition is faced with. Liberals and Conservatives can gain or maintain power by hustling votes: most people already know of or are at least prepared to tolerate any legislative programmes these parties want to introduce. But we in the N.D.P. have endorsed policies that would entail basic changes in the organization of society. Do we still intend to bring about such changes? Are we still radical? If so, it will not be possible to sneak up on several million people! We must confront Ontarians with a socialist alternative, encourage debate and understanding of our policies.

Where are we going wrong? Are we failing to get through to the voters? Or are we getting through to them and then being rejected?

We think both answers are partly correct. Often we don't get through to the voters. Let's stop hoping that the public media will come around to helping us. The day the media favours us will be the day we've either had the revolution or have sold out. Sometimes we do get through to the voters — but too often what we get through to them with is so incomplete, so moderate or watered down that it can scarcely seem a compelling alternative.

The following is an outline of some problem areas about which discussion would be helpful. It is not intended to be comprehensive; the authors are aware of numerous omissions. It is our hope that this paper might begin discussion leading to a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party.

1. The tendency towards moderation, becoming at times the rallying cry of the Party. Sometimes this tendency is heard as "seeking the middle ground," sometimes as "aiming at the middle class vote" or at everyone. But the "middle ground" is something we arrive at after debate and action, after discarding various alternatives — not something to be aimed at. And trying to gain the middle class vote is fine — as long as we

are trying to gain it with a socialist programme. Unfortunately, that's not what we see happening.

Where we have tough, radical policies, shouldn't we unveil them now? And where we haven't, isn't it time we did? It's not very honest, and it's not even good strategy to wait till we've "won" office. The old-line parties have usurped the field when it comes to moderation. In fact, our Party is often in danger of their outflanking us on the left! The Canadian electorate plainly does not need another moderate party. Does it need a strong left? We think so, but the only way to know for sure is to try. At the least, we haven't much to lose: we're standing still now.

## 2. The alteration by small elected groups within the Party of policy decided at convention.

For instance, the last Federal Convention said categorically "NO" to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline — not "if" as was stated during the last Federal campaign.

Do elected groups within the Party not trust the membership? And if not, is it because the membership doesn't deserve to be trusted, doesn't mean or understand what it says?

We realize that we can't muzzle those we elect and we recognize that new situations arise for which we have no precise policies but which must be dealt with. We therefore think the solution, if any, lies in being far more careful in choosing members of committees and candidates for public office: they must, above all, be people whom we trust and who trust us. The same people should not be elected time and again to committees and offices until they are regarded and regard themselves as permanent office-holders and indispensable. More members should be given (and take) the opportunity and responsibility of holding elected

office within the Party. Also, there should be more communication — dialogue — among us between conventions.

3. The eagerness of many Party members to seek out "stars" to run as candidates — that is, people with "a name" who may attract publicity in the capitalist press, and whether or not they have a long-term commitment to the N.D.P. (or socialism) or any known commitment at all. By definition, such people cannot represent us — or anyone — and we have no basis for trusting them. We think that the choice of "star" candidates is symptomatic — of a cop-out from the hard work of persuading the public, on a one-to-one basis, of the value of our policies.

If we have riding associations which aren't well enough organized that they can themselves produce sound, reliable candidates with roots in those ridings, should we seriously consider not running candidates there at the present time — and instead get busy helping those riding associations to develop?

4. The fact that the greatest activity of this Party revolves around election campaigns.

Most of our energy, talent and money is directed towards election campaigns. Many of our members and supporters are completely inactive except at election time. If elections continue to be the culmination of our efforts, we must consider ourselves failures!

5. Feelings of alienation by many women in the Party.

We think that this is in part due to a lack of understanding of the historical causes of women's unequal status and oppression under capitalism. We note too, though, that the behaviour and attitudes of many male Party members are not consistent with the declared philosophy of the New Democratic Party.

That we, with our ringing phrases about equality and an end to exploitation, appeal to fewer women voters than men is a fact deserving analysis.

6. Our lack of appeal to working class people, including trade unionists.

Our problem is not that we are dominated by trade unionists! Instead, either our interests are not coinciding or we are not communicating. A socialist programme does not seem to appeal to trade union spokesmen, but it is our contention that trade unionists, like almost all workers, would respond in time to a clear, thorough socialist programme.

7. The apparent growth of bureaucracy within our Party.

It doesn't win more votes. It doesn't — despite the energy expended in clever campaigns and unusual prizes — gain more members. Nor educate. Nor result in better policy. Nor encourage rank-and-file members to run as candidates. Nor lighten the work-load of active members. Nor result in better organization in those ridings which most need assistance. But it sure costs money! In what way is it worth it?

8. The chief roles of the leader and president as house leader and administrator respectively.

The work of our leader in the House is frequently given no publicity outside the House. In any event, the real action is mostly outside the House.

Couldn't others take over some of the responsibilities of the leader and president? We have plenty of talent in this Party, inside and outside the House.

We suggest that both our leader and president, who must be among our most articulate spokesmen, spend a greater share of their time in the ridings, with rank-and-file members, local media, citizens' groups.

9. The fact that many people today

enter, leave, re-enter, quit, our Party.

We wonder if our Party has the honesty and integrity it once had. We believe that it used to require a major decision to join — a decision about, for example, the nature of capitalism, the need for social welfare measures, the possibility of spreading responsibility for government and decision-making among greater numbers of people, the value of economic planning, the limits of freedom. We admit that we may be merely nostalgic but in any event, we'd like to see a party that requires a major decision before joining.

10. The lack of political discussion and analysis within this Party.

When is the last time you went to a constituency meeting where you heard discussion of politics, political issues, political philosophy — as opposed to organizational debate or speeches? Is it correct to assume that because members' hearts are in the right places that we can gloss over the substance of politics and deal almost exclusively with organization and finances? In many ridings the only time there is any political discussion is when convention resolutions are voted on. (And why so many resolutions which repeat or contradict existing Party policy?) What about the basic questions, such as the following:

What is social democracy or democratic socialism? Are either of these something different from socialism? Do we have a philosophy that holds our policies together? If so, is our philosophy one no other party or organization can provide?

Does "selective intervention" in the economy make any sense? Capital is mobile and can, presumably, flee from the economic sectors intervened in. Should we be talking about a planned economy instead?

What is the value of public

ownership if the workers in publicly owned industries have no direct say in their operation? We see too often the tragedy of old members — some from C.C.F. days — losing faith, and of new members losing patience. And not primarily because of electoral defeats, but because of the direction our Party is going in and its apparent silence between elections.

If the New Democratic Party continues its drift towards moderation at elections and conventions — which has the effect of confusing us with liberals — we shall disintegrate.

We believe that there is now a vacuum in Canadian politics, that this vacuum is on the left. The New Democratic Party can still fill that space, if we act now.

In signing this document we make no claim to having all the answers to problems besetting the Party. We call on all New Democrats to engage in a process of self-examination with a view to making our Party the powerful force it should be in Ontario politics. We consider it vital that the N.D.P. engage many more thousands of people in the political process — in the unions, in the work places, in our communities.

Let us be clear. We regard the New Democratic Party as still the only legitimate political expression of the economic and social aspirations of Canada's working people. It is our wish to make it an effective one. We respect the constitution of the Party and the rights of all other members; we do not challenge the leadership or wish to constitute ourselves as an organized caucus. What we want is that serious New Democrats join us in debating serious problems in a serious way.

To this end we invite you to take this paper to your riding association for discussion.

We intend to publish this paper or another along these lines in the New Democrat.

If you have any comments or ideas on where we might go from here, or if you wish to add your name to ours, write to Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Ave., Toronto.

# Turn Toward Socialism

During its first two years, the government has introduced legislation such as Mincome, Pharmacare, minimum wage increases, etc., which has improved the living conditions of many people in the province. While most government bills have been supported by all the capitalist parties, it is nevertheless important that it is an NDP government which has introduced these additions and extensions to the welfare state.

At the same time, there has been considerable concern within the NDP over the relationship of the government and the party. Lack of communication between the government and the party, the failure of the government to carry through on its commitments to the party and the lack of accountability to our policy have been the focus of party concern since the government was elected.

But is accountability the central question?

Accountability to party policy is certainly critical. If party policy is not translated into government legislation, and if the party is treated merely as a pressure group and election machine, the NDP, which has provided the only democratic socialist voice in B.C., cannot help but be weakened. And a weak party, in turn, ensures that the energy and base required to support socialist measures will be lacking.

Accountability is not, however, the central issue. The fact is that where our policy has proposed liberal reforms and extensions to the capitalist welfare state, the government has carried through, with the support of the other parties. But democratic socialism means

more than a modern welfare state or state capitalism. It substitutes for top-down capitalist institutions a new democracy in which people have real power over all aspects of their lives and in which production and distribution of goods and services are directed toward human needs rather than profits.

We all know that socialism cannot be introduced in one, two or three sittings of the B.C. legislature. But the central question is that of direction — whether government actions are weakening capitalism and substituting in its place elements of a new socialist society, or whether they are curbing minor abuses (while leaving the major abuse), extending welfare state measures (but not giving people real power over their lives) and reinforcing capitalism itself.

Is there a place in a socialist scheme for measures to insure "adequate profits" for corporate landlords, land developers and resource companies? For development plans undertaken without due consideration for their social and environmental effects? For public investments that yield private profits for resource companies? For organizing and sending private B.C. companies to make contacts in foreign markets? For imposing contracts, picketing restrictions and joint councils on trade unions and removing weapons they require? And what does it mean when Crown Corporations (Cancel, B.C. Hydro, etc.,) are run the same way as private capitalist firms?

We should examine whether measures of this type lay the groundwork for a new socialist society, or whether they strengthen

the existing system and represent, at best, state capitalism. These are questions to which, at this point, all democratic socialists should give careful consideration.

Many central planks of our party policy, on the other hand, do provide a clear socialist direction:

- making serious inroads into the power and rights of capitalist enterprises: by requiring output and investment plans from firms for the purpose of provincial economic planning by removing the ability of firms to shut down their operations.
- introducing social ownership into areas ill-served by capitalist monopolies (e.g. food distribution, housing, communications) and ensuring that people receive all the benefits of new dynamic industries (e.g. social ownership of industries processing our natural resources).
- changing the balance of power between workers and employers by removing restrictions on picketing; by providing for company books to be open to workers; by breaking down authoritarian relations in industry through worker-representatives, elected by and responsible to workers, on the boards of directors of crown corporations and on decision-making bodies in resource companies.

- recognizing and combatting sexism: by creating a real universal program of child care which frees women to work and participate fully in social life; by affirmative action plans which place the onus of sexist discrimination on employers by a Ministry of Women's Rights which has the responsibility and power to fight sexism.

- providing the basis for a new recognition of our relation to and dependence upon the environment: by creating an Environment Ministry which has overriding authority in all matters affecting the environment and from which approval on matters affecting the environment must be received from all other departments.

- introducing and advancing the principle of democratic control in all areas (e.g. education, municipal

government, etc.)

Adherence to party policy in these areas (which introduce significant structural changes) would do much to move British Columbia in the direction of a democratic-socialist society. It would set in motion forces which lead to the weakening of capitalist institutions by providing a new socialist framework.

But these are the very areas in which the government has not moved or where it has done so only in a token manner. And unless the government changes its style, involves the party, and works with peoples' movements to develop mass support for its programs, it will not be able to move in a socialist direction.

We are concerned that unless the government embarks upon a program of truly socialist change it will lose the support of people who endorsed our party program. And socialist change cannot be effected by the government alone. Unless it is backed up by the socialist movement itself, organized in defense of the implementation of our central policies, our government may continue to isolate itself, to water down our policy, and be forced to back down before establishment pressures. No mass involvement is required to follow the capitalist road, but a government cannot follow the socialist road by itself.

The past two years have seen our government drift into a pattern of governing that does not incorporate the core of our policy nor involve our membership. Nor has it embarked upon those socialist changes that can kindle the enthusiasm of large numbers of ordinary people, on the job, in the schools, or in their communities.

There is a choice now: the government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program. Or, it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in PR campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the

## **OPEN LETTER TO THE WARD 6 MEETING OF JULY 31 , 1978**

When Alderman Heap and School Trustees Leckie and Spencer pointed to the fundamental limitation of the Reform movement — that “it must stick to municipal issues and tries only to correct the harmful results of the corporations’ profiteering” and that it is “the system that supports these corporations (that) must be challenged, and for that fight working people needs an NDP working at all levels,” they projected a whole new perspective.

We carried this forward when we set up our NDP ward organization in Ward 6 and when we decided to run candidates on the NDP label — that our candidates would declare themselves as NDPers and so expose the agents of the Big Business parties, the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, both hidden and declared, who dominate municipal politics across Canada, and at the same time demonstrate that our politics transcend the liberal-reform politics of such even well-intentioned group as Toronto’s Reform Metro.

The challenge before us now is not to lose momentum, to aid by example our co-thinkers across Metro and in other Canadian municipalities to enter fully into the municipal arena to run label candidates and where possible to present an alternate NDP slate to the ward heelers of the parties of Big Business. And to commence to build up steam behind the candidates who we as an NDP organization decide to run as our own candidates under the label of the NDP, on its program, and accountable to our organization.

Where we are not running a full slate, how the electorate should mark their ballot after they have campaigned for and voted for the NDP-label candidates is distinctly a secondary matter to our building a powerful campaign behind our NDP candidates. The NDP is not just another political formation but it is the party of a particular class — the working class of Canada — the party of the over 2-1/2 million strong organized labor movement in the Canadian Labour Congress and such bodies as the Metro Toronto Labour Council, which have committed themselves to it and to the realization of a socialist Canada.

We should not lose the momentum that the Heap-Leckie-Spencer action has given to a big NDP effort and we should take no actions that would or would even tend to cut across it. Regardless of the possibilities of some similarities in program, we should not confuse our efforts to raise funds or build an effective NDP operation posing the class question before the electorate, via the NDP program and party label, with the efforts of other candidates seeking office who do not happen to agree with our view, and who choose to run under different auspices over which we have only limited influence and not the slightest element of control.

Should we even make the gesture of endorsing other candidates such as Alderman Sparrow and Trustee candidates Doiron, Nagle and Colle who are asking our

endorsement and Alderman Sewell who has not yet sought our endorsement of his mayoralty effort, and possibly others? We should be aware that our actions will be duly noted and can have an important effect on the decision that other NDP Ward organizations make with regards to other candidates, particularly

Reform Metro which appears as a sort of municipal party, and on the outcome of whether Metro Toronto Area Council will be able to seriously implement its decision to encourage the formation of NDP Ward organizations and the running of NDP label candidates.

Such a proposition should not be decided on a personal basis; the respect we may have for this or that individual candidate or even the possibility that some open reactionary candidate may succeed against a reform candidate in getting elected to a seat on city council. It is not a personal matter but a political matter. Much more than the election of a few candidates is at stake. We are being asked as the mass political expression of the working class to underwrite the future actions of candidates who are in no way accountable to the labor movement or to the NDP.

Such a proposition could only be entertained in the belief that it not only does not cut across our aim to establish the NDP as a municipal force but that it in some way even enhances it. In previous elections other established political currents in the working class movement have fielded a scattering of candidates who could be considered useful for the NDP to endorse. But Reform Metro is not such a working class tendency, and doesn't claim to be so; but is a coalition limited by its nature to achieving liberal reforms, that even tries to win support by disavowing such partisanship and broad fundamental aims. Its posture as a municipal party, inevitably, regardless of the intent of its supporters, undercuts efforts to establish the NDP as the political force it must become on the municipal arena.

— contribution from Ross Dowson  
vice president Rosedale NDP

### **Should WARD 6 NDP run only one or should it run two candidates in the coming aldermanic contest?**

Although we are part of a Canada-wide labor party whose views encompass the problems of the working people of Ward 6 and transcend and link them up to solutions on the provincial and federal level, we decided last year to run only one candidate — leaving one open to Ward 6 Community Organization which has many aspects of a political party but one limited to Metro Toronto. The arguments for doing so, couched in terms of "real" politics, were largely as follows: Sparrow was already a sitting member seeking re-election, he was a credible candidate, and besides, an agreement could be worked out with Ward 6 CO whereby they would support our one candidate.

Our balance sheet drawn immediately following that experience was that it was a bad one for the NDP. We do not need to get into the personal motivations of the Ward 6 CO leadership. There was the simple fact that the alderman who topped the poll automatically won the Metro seat. At the last moment Ward 6 CO publicly revealed that it did not support our candidate by urging a plumped vote for theirs.

Once again we are being urged to consider running only one candidate — once again on grounds of what are called real or practical politics — which once again does not hold water. A sitting or highly credible candidate is not an argument this time as Sparrow has withdrawn. The main argument is that Ward 6 CO, which appeared to be going down the drain, it is heavily in debt and the North Jarvis organization is defunct, has undergone a considerable and lively growth, largely through the unfortunate action of NDPers who have done little to build the Ward 6 NDP, getting highly involved in their nomination contest.

Instead of giving leadership, so far, we have held back, pending the outcome of the nomination struggle in Ward 6 CO and second-guessing what this conflict will mean to our cause. But it is already clear that nothing good for the NDP will come out of this.

One candidate for the CO nomination is Jack Layton, known as a closet NDPer, who has said, should he fail to win the nomination, that he will support his opponent George Hislop, and who has declared that should there be a conflict of interest between the NDP and the CO that he will be on the side of the CO. George Hislop is a single issue candidate, gay civil rights, which any candidate we run supports, and who was nominated to the planning board by hard-line reactionary Alderman Donahue. Hislop has intimated that if he doesn't get the CO nomination, on the basis of the support he has built up in the CO and elsewhere, that he will probably run anyway.

Thus the CO, while expressing preference for one will in effect end up building up two candidates. Needless to say this will be at the expense of any serious support of our candidate. In fact if we continue this second-guessing game about what Ward 6 CO will do, it is even possible that our one candidate could end up being defeated in this murky political process.

Nothing good can come out of this for the NDP effort. By not making known our intention to present two candidates we have failed to give leadership to NDP supporters who are getting caught up in these opportunistic maneuvers.

The Ward 6 NDP if it is to become an effective community-based operation has to give leadership. That means applying and developing our worked out labor-NDP municipal program. It means building up interest in our movement, presenting our Ward 6 operation as a stimulating and constantly renewing movement, and its becoming in actual fact the center for progressive activity in Ward 6.

Ross Dowson of St George NDP

*Two resolutions attached to the Ward 6 NDP flyer “Should Ward 6 NPD run only one...”*

WHEREAS our party as the political arm of the organized working class movement is in fundamental political opposition to Liberal and Tory governments of the Big Business interests;

WHEREAS, in the face of growing popular scepticism fed by the boss-controlled media that our party, particularly when it has real political leverage, acts like all parties, putting narrow sectarian conjunctural interests before proclaimed principle, it is thus also necessary at all times that our party appear to be in fundamental political opposition to the Liberals and Tories;

WHEREAS the Ontario Liberals, to be sure for reasons they think favorable to them, have presented a motion of non-confidence in the Davis government which actually does spell out key and pressing issues that can only be recognized by our supporters and those we hope to win as supporters, as valid grounds upon which the Ontario government should be brought down — and they have announced their intention to continue to put forward non-confidence motions on every possible occasion;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that our Parliamentary caucus cease and desist, when challenged on substantial grounds, from lining up behind the Tories and thereby supporting their continuing to hold office and legislating against the interests of the working people of Ontario.

WHEREAS the RCMP have justified an investigation into the ONDP in the early 1970s with charges of subversion against Waffle members and supporters;

WHEREAS Ross Dowson has sued the RCMP for slander in the face of these charges in order to defend the legality and legitimacy of socialist, especially Marxist thought;

WHEREAS the suit was formally endorsed by the NDP at its last federal convention

WHEREAS the suit has revealed RCMP crimes committed against Toronto socialists under the RCMP Codename Operation Checkmate;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the ONDP call upon Attorney-General Roy McMurtry to prosecute those RCMPers who were responsible for authorizing and carrying out such crimes;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the ONDP extend all reasonable assistance to ensure that the suit is carried through to a successful conclusion.

**Draft Manifesto for the NDP  
Submitted by the Ontario Left Caucus**

March 1983

*Preamble*

Fifty years ago, the founders of our movement gathered in Regina and proclaimed their dedication to a Cooperative Commonwealth. In ringing terms, they set out their alternative to the grinding poverty, stark injustice and stormclouds of war that confronted their generation:

"We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based on economic equality, will be possible."

Today, despite all the vows that a social crisis like the Depression of the 1930's would never happen again, the world is in the grips of an even more dangerous social, economic and political crisis. Mass unemployment is already a reality. Labour rights, our whole range of health and social services, are under fierce attack. Humanity itself is threatened with destruction from the nuclear war drive fuelled by international militarism. Never have we stood in greater need of fundamental solutions.

The Liberals and Conservatives offer nothing but wait-and-see platitudes and policies that punish the population for the crimes of an economic system. Only the NDP offers a way out. In this era, socialism promises more than an ideal. It promises to be the only answer to the pressing challenges before us.

The NDP (*New Democratic Party, founded in 1961*), like the CCF before it (*Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, precursor to the NDP, founded in 1932*), is itself the creation and inheritance of the struggles of successive generations of workers and farmers, who realized that their aspirations for a humane society could never be met within the framework of a capitalist Canada. In contrast to the Liberals and Conservatives who are the parties of the major corporations and vested interests, the NDP remains the party of working people and their allies.

Our goal is a socialist Canada, a new social order based on common ownership of our resources and industry, cooperation, production for use and genuine democracy. Only socialism can turn the boundless potential of our people and resources to the creation of a world free from tyranny, greed, poverty and exploitation.

## **The World Economic Crisis**

Canadians live and work in a world dominated by multinational corporate monopolies. These farflung business empires, of a scope and size unimaginable to previous generations, treat the entire planet as their domain. They are a law unto themselves, free to roam the globe in search of cheaper labour, more exploitable resources, more pliant governments and greater profits.

In collaboration with Canadian capitalists, successive Liberal and Conservative governments have put themselves at the service of these largely U.S.-based cartels. They now hold the power of life and death over every region and industry in our country. By their dictates, our resources have been plundered, our manufacturing capability denied. Canadian workers are their pawns in a global game of mergers, shutdowns, and relocations. These U.S. conglomerates have robbed us of our wealth and of the very power to determine our own future.

Massive world-wide unemployment and hunger are the legacy of these profiteering monopolies. Incapable of turning their technology and organization to the needs of people, they are collapsing under the weight of their hoarded wealth. They have distorted the economic development of the world so fundamentally — the resources they waste on war production, for instance, could eliminate hunger in the world — that world "markets" are glutted. Factories, shops and offices operate at half and three-quarters of their ability, while the world waits in need of the goods they could produce. There are no new frontiers for the multinationals. On the contrary, the crisis will only deepen. The micro-computer revolution will only intensify massive permanent unemployment, tedious and stressful jobs for remaining workers, and terrifying concentrations of knowledge and control in the hands of private corporations.

The central question posed by microtechnology, as by the multinational monopolies, is political. What kind of society do we want to create with the most powerful extensions of human labour and intelligence since the industrial revolution? If harnessed to popular administration and planning, microtechnology could help us achieve an era of abundance for all, release us from monotonous toil and enrich our store of accessible information.

The socialist option is the only alternative. Deepening of the world economic crisis is inevitable as long as profits dictate the course of humanity.

## **Social Ownership: The Only Solution**

Canada is confronted by a political, social and economic emergency that demands straight-forward solutions. If we are going to stamp out unemployment, secure our independence from the multinationals and steel ourselves for sweeping technological change, we need a socialist industrial strategy based on public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy. The flaws of capitalism are too basic, the power of the corporations too great, the chasm separating the compulsions of profit and the needs of people too wide, for anything less to succeed.

The half-measures of a mixed economy dominated by big business cannot meet the challenge. The stock-in-trade of government intervention — tinkering with monetary and fiscal policy to stimulate investment and spending — has proven bankrupt. Welfare state policies such as "progressive taxation" and unemployment insurance, though won by hard struggles, have done nothing to correct deep-seated structures of regional and social inequality. Legislative reforms, aimed at the most blatant abuses of corporate power, are faltering. In these harsh economic times, corporations hold governments to ransom through their control of desperately needed investment. Even reform-minded governments have buckled under this pressure, and passed vicious legislation, slashing social services and trampling the basic rights of workers.

Capitalism has failed, and so have efforts to reform it. That failure puts a campaign for the socialist alternative on the immediate agenda.

New Democratic Party governments will replace corporate ownership with social ownership of the major firms in the manufacturing, resource, finance, transportation and communications industries. Only then can we plan for full employment, social equality and economic democracy.

Socially-owned banks and insurance companies will ensure that peoples' savings serve the people. These savings will be mobilized for massive job-creating projects in critical areas such as housing and social services. To create new wealth, a socialist government will call a halt to the U.S. drain on our natural resources and use these resources as building blocks for a rounded industrial economy. To correct a disastrous balance of payments and create new jobs, we will break from our dependency on foreign multinationals and establish our own manufacturing capability in heavy industry and high-technology equipment.

## **Economic Democracy**

The needs of people, not profit, are the driving force of a socialist society. This wholesale reconstruction cannot be accomplished by crown corporations that perpetuate management privileges. It will be accomplished by democratizing all levels of society, and by making workers' control the touchstone of industrial relations.

Under capitalism, labour is a commodity. Workers are used as replaceable parts, extinctions of machines — as long as they provide dividends. Employers use their power of ownership to devastate the lives of workers through layoffs, shutdowns and neglect of health and safety. Unions, despite their courageous efforts, have encountered difficulties eliminating even the worst abuses of management power.

Socialism will dissolve the economic foundation of one-sided management privilege by relying on the needs and creativity of people. At the centrepiece of any NDP program will be the goal of enhancing the power that people can exercise over their own lives. This includes the passage of work environment laws to expand the scope and strength of

collective agreements, giving workers decisive weight in every level of decision making, and ensuring that control over workers' pensions is placed in the hands of their elected union representatives. We believe in the ability of working people to manage their own productive institutions democratically.

## **Women's Rights**

The modern Canadian women's movement has inspired us to renew and extend the socialist commitment to a society free from sexual discrimination.

Women remain the oppressed sex in Canada. Sexual discrimination is not only tolerated, it is entrenched at every level of society.

Years of piecemeal reform and dead letter laws have left women stranded in dead-end jobs at dead-end rates of pay. Loosely worded, poorly enforced equal pay laws and equal rights codes provide little protection for women at work. There are virtually no laws to protect women from the unemployment that is slated for them with the introduction of microtechnology.

Beyond the workplace, women's basic rights are continually denied. Hospitals and governments still interfere with a woman's basic right to make her own decision about maternity. Women are left to shoulder the major responsibility of childcare, because daycare facilities are inadequate and under-funded. Violence makes victims of women in the home and in the community.

By taking the profit out of discrimination, a socialist society will take a crucial step towards women's rights. In cooperation with the independent women's movement, NDP governments will place top priority on legislation to guarantee equal pay for work of equal value, and affirmative action to promote women in areas where centuries of systematic discrimination must be overcome. Universal quality daycare will be established, either by extending the school system or funding local parent-child centres. Emergency shelters for battered wives will be funded by government, not charity. In recognition of women's inalienable rights to control their own bodies, funds will be allocated to birth control research, education, and to free-standing abortion clinics. The choice of maternity rests with a woman, in consultation with her doctor. Laws and hospital regulations that deny access to safe abortions will be repealed.

## **The Crisis of Federation**

After 116 years of Confederation, we have not resolved the most pressing issues of federalism. We have not overcome the injustices of centuries-old conquests. We have not taken control of the levers of independent economic and cultural development. We have allowed corporations to treat East, West and North as resource hinterlands, to scar them with boom and bust development that leaves behind only a wealth of regional resentment.

The present constitution with its loopholed charter of individual rights cannot deal with problems of this magnitude. A renewed commitment to democracy and independence can. The crisis of Canadian nationhood can only be resolved on a basis of self-determination and equality of its peoples and regions.

An NDP government will guarantee full rights to self-determination to the Quebec and Native nationalities. We will guarantee and extend the linguistic rights of long-established francophone communities outside Quebec. We will abolish the Senate and Governor-Generalship as patronage-infested relics of the aristocratic age. We will establish an independent economy which the working people of Canada will control. We will extend that independence to the world of culture.

We will extend that control to regions, through decentralized planning, that puts an end to the tribute to Ottawa, Toronto and New York.

### **Peace and World Justice**

Canada must establish a new and independent foreign policy to join the worldwide battle for peace and economic justice. In alliance with other international movements — for disarmament in the first world, for democracy in the second world, and for equality and national liberation in the third world — we can help tilt the balance that is now pushing the world toward nuclear annihilation. Such solidarity is only possible if we establish an independent economy, free from the dictates of the U.S. military-industrial complex, free to enjoy a world economic order based on cooperation rather than exploitation.

For decades, the world has endured a balance of nuclear terror based on the supposed deterrent value of mutual assured destruction. That balance now rests on a hair trigger that could be brushed at any moment by the use of first-strike weapon systems. These weapons are designed primarily to re-establish U.S. supremacy through the threat of "winnable" nuclear war.

These weapons are the centrepiece of U.S.-dominated alliances such as NATO and NORAD. Canadian membership in these organizations places us in the front lines of responsibility for the production, testing and launching of nuclear missiles. A breakaway from these organizations and establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone in Canada could place us on the front lines of those fighting for a new world order.

We are dedicated to a world in which all nations renounce the use of nuclear weapons — a world based on the twin pillars of disarmament and economic justice. Both are preconditions of the other. Multi-billion dollar budgets now wasted on the war drive could wipe out world hunger and illiteracy in one year. To play a part in the creation of such a world, Canada needs an independent foreign policy and an economic order that rejects production for war.

## **An NDP Government in Power**

A New Democratic Party government will seek to give political power to unorganized and organized working people, to farmers, women, students and all groups subjected to national oppression. A New Democratic Party government will develop a plan to legislate the key elements of its democratically determined program as the first step towards transforming Canada into a socialist society. Such a government will seek to educate and mobilize in defence of its legislative program against entrenched power blocs that may seek to thwart the will of the majority.

The New Democratic Party Left Caucus commits itself to a program based on the following objectives as priorities:

1. Public ownership of the decisive sectors of the economy and, in particular, of the resource, finance, manufacturing, transportation and communication sectors, to permit the development of an independent economy, production for use, economic planning and industrial democracy.
2. The development of a comprehensive industrial strategy dedicated to full employment. Massive public work programs and a shorter work week for the same takehome pay will be key elements in establishing everyone's right to a job.
3. The development of a comprehensive social strategy to eliminate poverty in Canada. Such a strategy will include minimum wages corresponding to basic levels of need, indexed pensions, disability and welfare allowances.
4. Full support for the rights of labour, including the abolition of all legislation limiting free collective bargaining, the encouragement of unionization, the safeguarding of the right to strike and to refuse unsafe work and the right to negotiate technological change.
5. Full support for the demands of the women's movement. In particular, we will promote affirmative action programs, establish the right of women to control their own bodies and to be paid equally for work of equal value as decisive measures to lead towards the realization of guaranteed equality in all social, economic and legal matters to women.
6. Legislation to guarantee the extension of fundamental human rights to all persons regardless of race, religion, sex, sexual orientation or physical or mental disability.
7. The constitutional extension of full democratic rights including the dismantling of undemocratic political institutions such as the Senate and reform of the patronage-ridden judicial system. We will undertake to pass legislation establishing democratic civilian control of police forces.
8. The right of self-determination for the Québécois and Native peoples.

9. Free, universal access to all levels of education from daycare to university.
10. Protection of the family-based farm. Special measures to break the power of the bankers and agri-business processors will include easy access to credit, encouragement of cooperatives and rationalized food production through producer-controlled marketing agencies.
11. Encouragement of an independent Canadian culture through measures guaranteeing funding and distribution rights for Canadian cultural workers and measures to offset U.S. domination of distribution rights in the theatre and magazine industries.
12. Protection of our environment from unacceptable and unnecessary pollutants such as acid rain, nuclear and toxic wastes and the creation of a policy that promotes safe and renewable energy sources.
13. An international policy reflecting a commitment to peace, global justice, the end of the nuclear arms race, and the declaration of a nuclear-weapons free zone in Canada.
14. An independent foreign policy for Canada which will no longer be dictated by the U.S. military system. An NDP government will immediately withdraw from NATO and NORAD and promote the international antiwar and disarmament movements.

The New Democratic Party is the party of the dispossessed and oppressed struggling to build a new world. We are both a social movement and a political party.

As a social movement, we support all struggles against the injustices of capitalism. Unions — together with popular organizations fighting for world peace, social equality and environmental safety — are the life-blood of our movement. As a political party, we seek to become a government that can implement legislation to meet the needs of working people.

We do not offer just a blueprint to a better future. We offer an invitation to all Canadians to join us, as we join them, in our common efforts to eradicate a social system based on exploitation, discrimination, poverty and war. The capitalist system must be replaced by socialist democracy. That is the burning issue of our era, the only hope of humanity.

*(union “bug” Local 15 ITU)*

For further information on ONDP Left Caucus contact Dave Tomczak.

(R.D comment: "This will not inspire NDP activist involvement - to whom is this addressed?")  
This will not inspire the whom is the addressed  
NDP involvement space  
activist

# NDP Anti-War

April 1983

Newsletter

## WHY THE NDP SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT

By Gord Doctorow,  
Chairman, NDP Antiwar Committee

This coming summer will witness millions mobilizing in the Americas, across Europe, from Portugal through France and Germany, right into the East European states, to halt the accelerating deployment of nuclear armed missiles. Hundreds of thousand who have never been involved in any kind of public social action will be demonstrating in the streets. What was minority opinion is becoming majority opinion.

The British Labour Party conference responded to this sentiment last fall by voting, by over a two-thirds majority, in favour of British unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with more than 6 million affiliated through the trade unions, had decided that its central actions will be organized with the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party in August 1983. They will mark the anniversary of the U.S. dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The central slogan will be "Britain Out of NATO—NATO Out of Britain."

The U.S. Government intends to install Cruise Missiles in the network of military emplacements sustained by those states committed to the NATO military alliance. If it succeeds, the nuclear arms drive will gravely imperil the world's prospects for survival. For these installations will mark a large leap in acceptance of readiness to make nuclear war.

What is Canada's role? Prime Minister Trudeau hypocritically calls for "suffocating" the arms race while providing the

[Continued on Page 2]

Continuing secrecy and government confusion about cruise missile and other U.S. weapons tests in Canada are no longer acceptable to Canadians, says New Democrat external affairs critic Pauline Jewett.

"From the Pentagon we have learned that Canada might be the testing ground for new "Stealth" cruise missiles, a further escalation of the nuclear arms race, yet we have still learned nothing from our own government about these secret weapons testing plans," said the New Westminister-Coquitlam MP.

Jewett criticized Conservatives for their "total and shameful failure to call the government to task on the continuing secrecy about cruise missile and other weapons tests."

Jewett pointed out "Stealth" technology applied to cruise missiles would make those weapons even more of a threat to verification abilities and future arms control agreements.

She said Canada's ambassador to the United States, who will sign the secret agreement on behalf of this country, was in Ottawa recently and asked the External Affairs minister to make public his plans for tabling that agreement in the House of Commons.

(R.D.↑ "This should be up front")

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[Continued from Page 1]

## NDP AND DISARMAMENT

site for the testing and perfection of the Cruise Missile on Canadian soil. His government justifies this on the basis of its commitment to NATO thus tightening Canada's integration into the U.S. military alliance.

The growing concern and opposition to the nuclear arms drive among Canadians in every walk of life was revealed in last fall's Municipal Referenda calling upon the Canadian government to pursue disarmament. The polls showed 70% to 80% in favour across the country. Since then, a poll of the general population has registered 52% as being opposed to the testing of the Cruise Missile here. NDP MPs, especially Pauline Jewett and Dan Heap, as well as party leaders Ed Broadbent and Bob Rae, have been outspoken in and out of parliament in their opposition to the Cruise testing.

Our party is the Canadian antiwar party by virtue of the fact that it is based on the organizations and support of working people and society's dispossessed. Since the drive for profit at all costs is alien to us, we have no stake in supporting the arms drive. At the same time, our party has held a formal policy of opposition to NATO, NORAD and the Defence Production Sharing Agreements for some time. At the last Federal Convention, we adopted the principle of making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone along with re-affirming our previous policy. Our parliamentary spokespersons have often proclaimed the priority need to maintain social services and peacetime jobs.

Yet the public opinion polls indicate, despite the recession and popular antiwar sentiment, that only 21% to 22% of Can-

adians across the country would support the NDP in a federal election. Sixty-one percent do not identify with the Party.

What has been lacking, and is vitally necessary, is for the Party to actively mobilize around these policies among the growing number of antiwar Canadians. By doing so we can educate the Canadian people that their interest lie with the NDP and in opposition to the pro-military policies of the Tory and Liberal Parties.

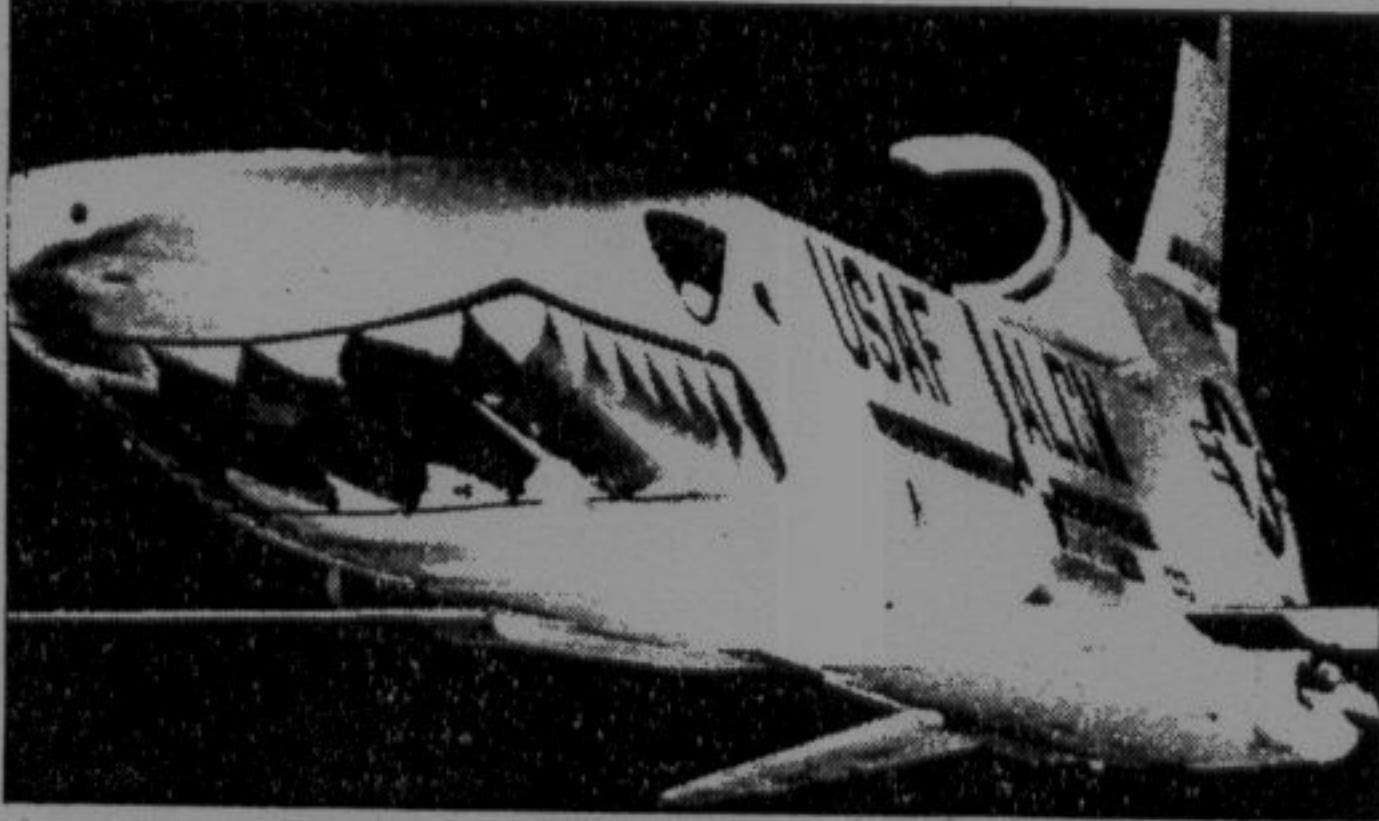
As a contribution to winning a new hearing for the Party, the NDP Antiwar Committee was founded in Metro Toronto last August. Since that time, we have organized a disarmament float in the Labour Day parage, an antiwar forum of some 350 people during last October's Disarmament Week, and a contingent of NDPers to the October 30 anti-Cruise protest in Ottawa. We have circulated our policy statements to disarmament rallies and produced a button and banner proclaiming the NDP as the antiwar party. Many New Democrats, active in disarmament issues, have gladly worn these buttons and mobilized behind the party banner.

There is much more to be done and a great deal of promise for the Party. But it requires a lot more organization and involvement at the riding level. The Antiwar Committee is striving to meet this challenge by hosting two important events. We will be providing an antiwar evening featuring music, guerilla theater and a party afterwards on Saturday March 12 at the International Student Centre, University of Toronto. On April 8 and 9, we will be holding a metro-wide organizing conference for all ridings to hear prominent Party spokespersons and to discuss how to get involved at the local level. Also, we have endorsed the March 5 International Women's Day demonstration, which has a disarmament theme, and the April 23 Day of Protest against the Cruise which will take place as a cross-country series of demonstrations.

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"The immediate cause of World War III is the preparation for it"

C. Wright Mills



THE CRUISE MISSILE

# NDP ANTIWAR NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 2

July, 1983

## Canada's complicity

### Cruise test trade-offs

by the Editors

The issue of Canadian involvement in the nuclear arms race has never been more critical. The Canadian government has moved from a position of covert complicity to open support of the Reagan government's request for Cruise testing to be carried out in Alberta.

The NDP parliamentary caucus through relentless questioning has forced Defence Minister Lamontagne to admit that low-angle radar testing for the Cruise was already underway on the Alberta site. Ottawa had secretly signed the necessary agreement in 1979 when Litton Industries in Canada had already won a U.S. contract to manufacture the guidance system.

Lamontagne has chastised NDP defence critic Terry Sargent for being "obsessed" with the Cruise missile. But it is precisely this obsession developing in the Canadian public, to which the NDP has given political expression, that has led to the tremendous growth of the anti-war movement.

Trudeau's stance—that we must live up to our NATO commitments and support the Cruise in order to deter the Soviets from using their weapons—represents a major turnaround from his earlier strategy of "suffocation" of the arms race. Bending to the U.S. government's pressure, the Prime Minister has decided to carry the burden of diplomatic support of Reagan's perilous strategy of nuclear deployment in Europe.

By presenting the Cruise testing as an obligation of Canadian membership in the NATO-NORAD alliance, Trudeau has attempted to enlist cold war rhetoric to put the anti-war movement on the defensive. These agreements have bound Canadian business interests to the militarization of the economy. While social services and employment have been cut back, Canada's annual military budget has shot up to \$8.25 billion.

In order to allay the fears of the growing popular movements for disarmament, Trudeau has on the one hand offered some criticism of Reagan's confrontationist line on the Soviet Union. On the other hand, his Williamsburg declaration of "busting our bloody asses for peace" has the aim of overcoming the widening perception that it is the Thatcher's and Reagan's who are threatening the world with nuclear destruction.

Ironically, Canada is jumping onto the arms race bandwagon just as other countries (Greece, Norway, Belgium, Denmark), influenced by

massive peace movements are preparing to jump off. (Just recently 100,000 Spaniards marched through Madrid demanding of its newly elected Socialist government an immediate referendum on their country's withdrawal from NATO and the removal of U.S. military bases from Spanish soil.)

In response, NDP members of Parliament have initiated a number of important steps to bring pressure to bear on the government.

The entire federal caucus has unanimously and persistently fought

against the proposed Cruise testing both inside and outside of Parliament, whilst pressing for a debate on the issue in Parliament. On June 14, Ed Broadbent presented the following motion in the House of Commons: "that this House express its opposition to the escalation of the nuclear arms race by any nation and in particular its opposition to Canada's participation by testing in Canada any nuclear weapon or nuclear weapon delivery vehicle such as, and including, the Cruise

continued on page 4

## Military production an economic trap

From: *Ploughshares Monitor*, IV: 4, March 1983

When the Federal Cabinet finally sits down to face the decision of whether or not to permit U.N. testing of the cruise missile in Canadian territory, the debate is unlikely to linger very long on the lofty questions of war and peace, but will quickly come to focus on the basics—how much can we afford to bite the hand that feeds us?

A prominent response to calls for refusal to permit cruise testing in Canada, and one raised in the meeting between Canadian church leaders and the Prime Minister, is to hint darkly about the unspeakable economic acts the United States might commit on Canada in return. In fact, it is not an idle hint. In the Canada/United States Defence Production Sharing Arrangements (DPSA) the U.S. has the perfect tool for carrying out economic reprisals.

The DPSA as noted elsewhere in this issue, permit Canadian firms equal access to the U.S. military market with American firms. A substantial Canadian industry has grown up around this market; however, there are two noteworthy features to this arrangement—1) there is essentially no alternative market (in Canada or overseas) for the components the Canadian military industry produces; and 2) the U.S. market for those parts had been expanding rapidly.

The Canadian defence industry sells about two-thirds of its total production to the United States. And, given that the bulk of these sales are of parts built to U.S. Department of Defence specifications, if that market were to dry up there would be major repercussions in the Canadian aerospace and electronics industries (the main

concentration of military production in Canada). Workers would be laid off, plants would be closed and Canadian engineers and scientists would leave in droves for the United States—not a happy circumstance for any government to contemplate.

At the moment, however, given the Reagan arms boom, the trend is in the opposite direction. As is also noted elsewhere in this issue, during the past two decades Canadian military sales to the United States have fluctuated within the range of \$200 to \$400 million annually. But that is all changed now. Sales to the U.S. have increased dramatically in recent years to the current level of an estimated \$1 billion per year.

Members of the U.S. Congress, understandably, in a period of rising employment and deteriorating balance of payments, view U.S. military imports from Canada as the export of production and employment to Canada—production and employment they would be happy to see relocated to their States and Congressional districts. The U.S. Administration, on the other hand, defends these military imports from Canada on the grounds that they contribute to the integration of North American defence equipment and, ultimately, defence policy. It is part of the price, say the White House and the Pentagon, of solidifying the continental alliance.

In the past couple of years, in fact, U.S. Administration officials have lobbied vigorously in Congress on behalf of Canada to prevent the passage of bills that would have restricted Canadian industrial access to the U.S. military market.

Ed Broadbent

## OPEN LETTER TO CANADIANS

[A complete version of this letter is available at the Office of the Leader, NDP, House of Commons, Ottawa]

In his open letter to Canadians on the subject of testing the cruise missile in Canada, Prime Minister Trudeau reveals that he has chosen the path of further escalation of the nuclear arms race over that of de-escalation.

The Prime Minister argues that the United States must prepare to deploy new missiles in Europe to counter the existing Soviet SS20 missiles. His argument is that only American deployment of new missiles will force the Soviets to back down and remove the offending missiles.

It is a familiar argument because we have been hearing it since nuclear weapons first cast their shadow over the future of mankind in the 1940s. Since that time, both superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, have gone step by reciprocal step down the path of nuclear escalation. The air launched cruise missile is one more step down that perilous path—a deadly weapon because it is almost undetectable and therefore a barrier to verifiable bilateral arms reduction once it is in place.

Quite apart from the "balance of terror" which already exists without the cruise, I was alarmed by the Prime Minister's discussion, emphasized in the House of Commons on Tuesday, of a limited nuclear war. To talk of discrete military theatres such as Western Europe as though a nuclear war could be fought there in isolation is a dangerous delusion.

No less an authority than Henry Kissinger denies the feasibility of a controlled nuclear exchange. For

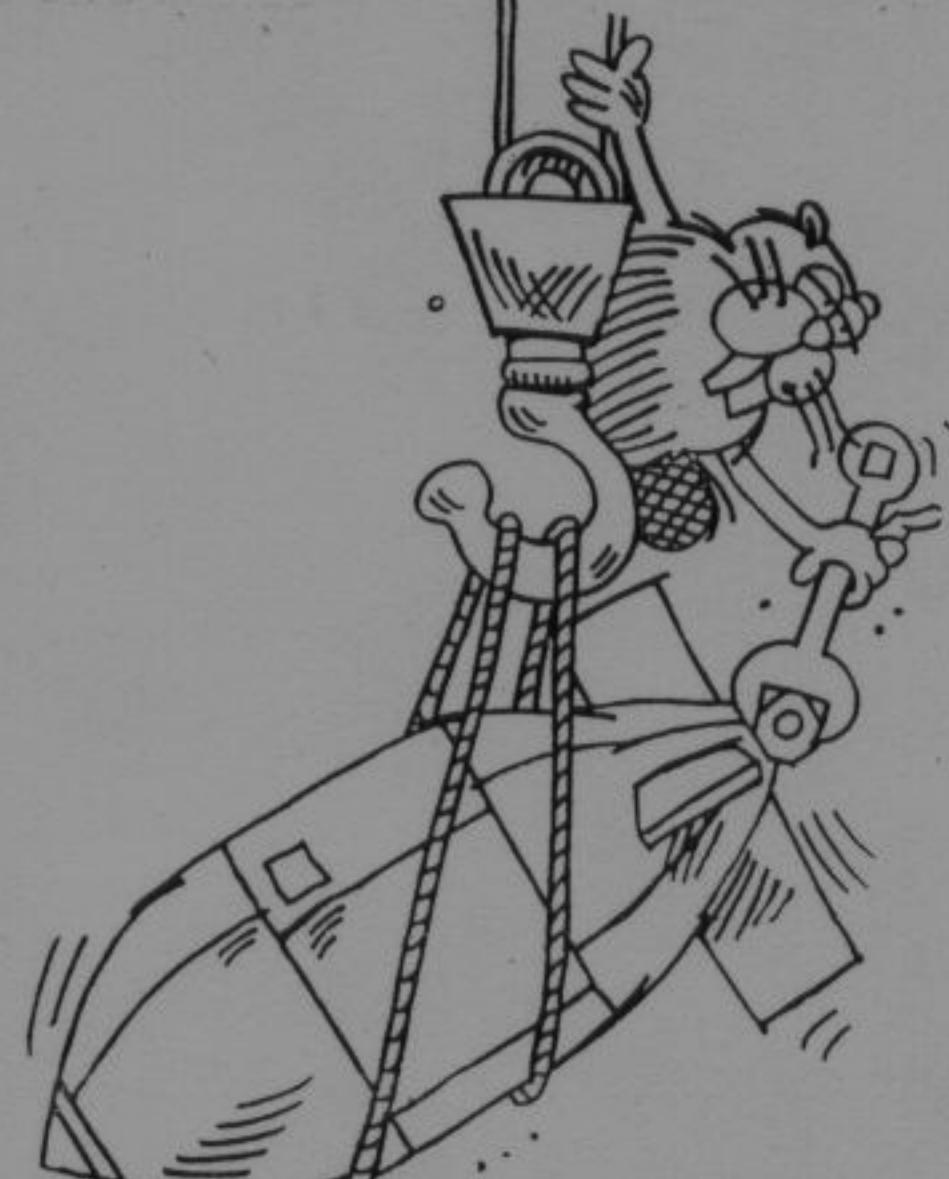
Canadians to allow the cruise missile to be tested in this country is to sanction a step toward accepting the idea of a "limited" nuclear war, which in itself can be a major step towards the nuclear holocaust.

The vicious circle of nuclear escalation must be reversed. In a world in which each nuclear superpower has an absolute capacity to destroy the other, halting escalation is the only sane option. The U.S. Congress recognized this recently when it endorsed the idea of negotiating a nuclear freeze with the Soviet Union. Canada should support this initiative—and as a concrete illustration of our commitment, refuse to test the cruise.

Finally, a word about the alleged "anti-American" motivation which the Prime Minister attributes to those involved in the anti-nuclear movement. It has been clear to all those who wanted to see the evidence that what motivates the vast majority involved in this global movement is opposition to the nuclear weaponry of both of the superpowers. It is a movement for disarmament—not anti-American or anti-Soviet.

To suggest Canadians involved in demonstrating against the cruise are "anti-American" is an insult to the many Canadians who are opposed to cruise testing in Canada. Would the Prime Minister also so characterize 278 congressional representatives who voted in favour of a mutual, verifiable freeze particularly with regard to new destabilizing weapons as anti-American? Are the Canadian and American Catholic bishops anti-American?

Canada can take an important step by refusing to allow the cruise mis-



Last fall, U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger intervened directly to forestall passage of a bill that would have placed restrictions on U.S. purchases of specialty metals from foreign sources—a measure that would have disqualified millions of dollars worth of Canadian military sales to the U.S.

The implications of this have not gone unnoticed in Ottawa. If Canada proves to be uncooperative in defence relations—say, by refusing to test the cruise missile—is Caspar Weinberger going to be interested in running interference on

continued on page 2

Edward Broadbent

## NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE

Subcommittee of Metro New Democrats

Newsletter Editor: Kimberley Wilde

Chairperson: Gord Doctorow

Secretary: Don Brandt

Treasurer: Vi Thompson

Members at Large: Harry Paine, Muni Taub

Any article from the NDP Antiwar Newsletter may be reprinted without fee as long as the Newsletter is acknowledged.

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Toronto, Ontario  
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### Cruise-trade-offs (continued from page 1)

behalf of Canadian military industry interests in Congress?

The lesson from all this is obviously not that we should test the cruise. Instead, the lesson is that we should get busy and rearrange our industrial activity in such a way that we can decide defence policy questions, such as cruise testing, on their own merits and not on the basis of economic threats. Under the present circumstances, the Federal Cabinet cannot avoid making trade-offs between long-term peace and security interests and short-term economic interests (in all likelihood deciding in favour of the latter and arguing publicly that the decision serves the former).

As long as the DPSA remain in force, the United States military establishment will continue sending us offers we can't refuse.

Ernie Regehr

### Viewpoint

## Whose side are we on?

by Muni Taub

*"In a world in which each Nuclear Superpower has an absolute capacity to destroy the other and much of the rest of mankind) halting escalating is the only sane option" [Ed Broadbent in an open letter to Canadians dated May 12, 1983].*

This sane option offered by the N.D.P. is both simple and straightforward. We view the world-wide arms race as the real monster. In this race billions are squandered on what is referred to as defence, instead of being used to satisfy the real needs of people. The anti-war policies elaborated in this newsletter speak for themselves. However, other questions are posed: What about the threat from the other side, from the Soviet Union? What about the arms they have? Does not the N.D.P. help its ideological opponents in the governments of the so-called Socialist countries of the East by helping the Peace Movements in the West?

Clearly these questions are raised mainly by those who have a stake in the arms race. They bring forth a red herring to divert our attention from the very lucrative profits the arms race produces. They, along with their political spokesmen, be they Liberals or Tories, must be exposed and combatted as advocates of war. Yet it is also our duty to address ourselves to these questions raised by the misinformed, as well as clarify our position.

Let us set the record straight:

1. Long before the emergence of the U.S.S.R. and its allies on the world arena, capitalists as a class engaged in the very profitable enterprise of war-making.

2. We hold no brief for the present social system of the Warsaw Pact countries. We condemn interventions in neighboring and foreign lands as destructive of normal relations and pursuit of peace. The sharp ideological differences between the ruling Communist Parties in these countries and the N.D.P. are well established and widely known. However, we categorically oppose war as

2 NEWSLETTER, July, 1983

# POLICY STATEMENT OF THE NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE

As the nuclear arms race escalates, the world is drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe. The militarization of the world's economies not only threatens annihilation of the planet but also starves the needs of the poor while enriching the arms profiteers. According to Ruth Sivard's (the former chief of the economics division of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) 1982 annual report on World Military and Social Expenditures, military expenditures have climbed to more than \$600 billion a year. Yet one billion people lack the most basic necessities of life.

An estimated 100 million people are engaged in military activities either as soldiers or civilians producing weapons and related services. Since 1960, all of the increase in armed forces numbers has taken place in the underdeveloped countries, which now account for more than 60 per cent of the world's total manpower under arms. Armament imports by these, the poorest countries have increased 17-fold accounting for about three-quarters of the world's arms trade.

World military spending comes to \$19,300 per soldier, public education spending per school-age child to \$380. The arms business today accounts for about \$150 billion in annual sales, an amount just below the annual incomes of the world's 14 largest national economies.

Canada's military expenditures are reaching \$8.25 billion in the midst of a recession while supposedly there is not enough money to provide for

jobs or to sustain social services like health and welfare.

The global stockpile of nuclear weapons is equivalent to 16 billion tons of TNT as compared to the three million tons of munitions used in World War II to kill 40-50 million people. Since 1960, over one third of the world's nations have been engulfed in 65 major wars that have killed an estimated 10.7 million people. Modern warfare causes about three civilian deaths for every battle death.

In 1981, nuclear weapons testers set off an explosion every week. The efficiency of an American car has doubled since the Second World War; the efficiency of a nuclear weapon has increased 150 times.

The staggering prospect of nuclear war, however, has led to mass demonstrations against the arms race all over Europe and North America. NATO countries like Norway, Belgium, Denmark, and Holland are refusing to deploy nuclear weapons despite U.S. pressure. The Socialist government of Greece is threatening to pull out of NATO and the Socialist government of Spain is unwilling to commit itself militarily to NATO. These events point to a rising tide of anti-militarist consciousness.

While the European countries, situated in the nuclear theatre, are pulling back from nuclear weapons deployment, Canada is making a qualitative leap into the U.S. nuclear camp. With its clear support for testing the U.S. Cruise missile in Alberta, Prime Minister Trudeau's

Liberal government, seconded by the Conservatives, are thrusting Canada into the arms race at the decisive moment of mass opposition. For the first time, Canada will be committed in the name of NATO to a direct involvement in the arms race. Despite NATO's pretences to a policy of negotiated disarmament, these actions testify to a policy of war preparations.

By contrast, our parliamentary caucus has closed ranks to consistently resist the government's duplicity. Through Foreign Affairs critic Pauline Jewett's expose of the secret deals negotiated with the U.S. government to turn Canada into its nuclear arms testing area, the NDP was able to rouse public opposition and to open dissension within the ranks of the Liberals and Tories. On the 50th anniversary of the founding of the CCF, the NDP can rightfully harken back to its antiwar roots as expressed in the Regina Manifesto. An echo of this appears in Ed Broadbent's open letter of reply to Trudeau on the issue of the Cruise testing, not to mention the numerous speeches made by other NDP MP's in the House and at disarmament rallies.

There are new possibilities before the party to win new adherents to its ideas on an important issue. We are being challenged as leaders to mobilize the party ranks, to make our demands known, and to build the antiwar movement. It is such considerations which have led to the formation of the NDP Antiwar Committee.

The NDP Antiwar Committee (a subcommittee of the Metro New Democrats in Metro Toronto), basing itself on party policy, presents the following statement of principles and objectives.

1. END CANADA'S COMPLICITY WITH THE WAR DRIVE. We stand for an independent foreign policy. In line with the policy adopted at the 1980 federal convention, we call for Canada's withdrawal from the U.S. military alliances, NATO and NORAD. We advocate that Canada become a nuclear weapon free zone in terms of production of components or systems, testing and transportation of nuclear weapons. Against the absurd race for increased nuclear overkill, we oppose the Cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, the central issue before the disarmament movement today.

2. NDP AS THE ANTIWAR PARTY. In the tradition of its founders, the NDP draws upon the antiwar attitude of the Regina Manifesto. We stand opposed to the war system, which is an instrument of

corporate profit. As the antiwar party of Canada, we propose the socialist alternative of production for use and human need. Through our policy and our party status, we aim to provide political leadership to the disarmament movement. We identify with the growing antiwar movement in Canada by joining actively in its campaigns and demonstrations. In parliament, we act as tribunes of the antiwar movement by translating policy into legislative proposals. As a party, we defend antiwar dissidents who suffer harassment from governmental and police authorities over completely legitimate and nonviolent protest.

3. SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE. As part of its commitment to opposing the war system, the NDP aligns itself with the Socialist International in support of the liberation fighters in the Third World. In the spirit of socialist solidarity, we further our antiwar aims not by declarations of mere pacifism but of support to necessary struggles for social reform, freedom, and social justice against the system of cruel exploitation by world corporate power.

4. JOBS NOT BOMBS. As the labor party of Canada, the NDP represents the interests of working people and the labor movement. Therefore, we advocate that war production (which by its nature is destructive, inflationary and capital intensive) be converted to peacetime production with emphasis on job creation and production to satisfy unmet social needs. This position is in harmony with the positions advocated in the labor movement itself, for example, by the leaderships of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists.

5. POLITICAL EDUCATION. The Antiwar Committee places a high priority on the promulgating of party policy both within and outside of the party. This entails the holding of public forums, policy conferences, campaigns and publishing and circulating information.

6. MEMBERSHIP. The NDP Antiwar Committee is the property of all party members in good standing in the Metro Toronto area. Our committee aspires to democratically involve party members at all levels of party organization. We also strive to participate with non-party disarmament groups in mutual campaigns where possible and where consistent with party policy.

## NDP disarmament conference report

by Kimberley Wilde

"Building the NDP and the Antiwar Movement" was the theme of the April 8-9 NDP Antiwar Committee Metro Toronto conference. Some 60 people attended the evening forum on April 8 where Spadina MP Dan Heap spoke on peacetime conversion of industry and the necessity to pull Canada out of the NATO military alliance. The Toronto Street Theatre presented a vivid skit that focussed on U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America.

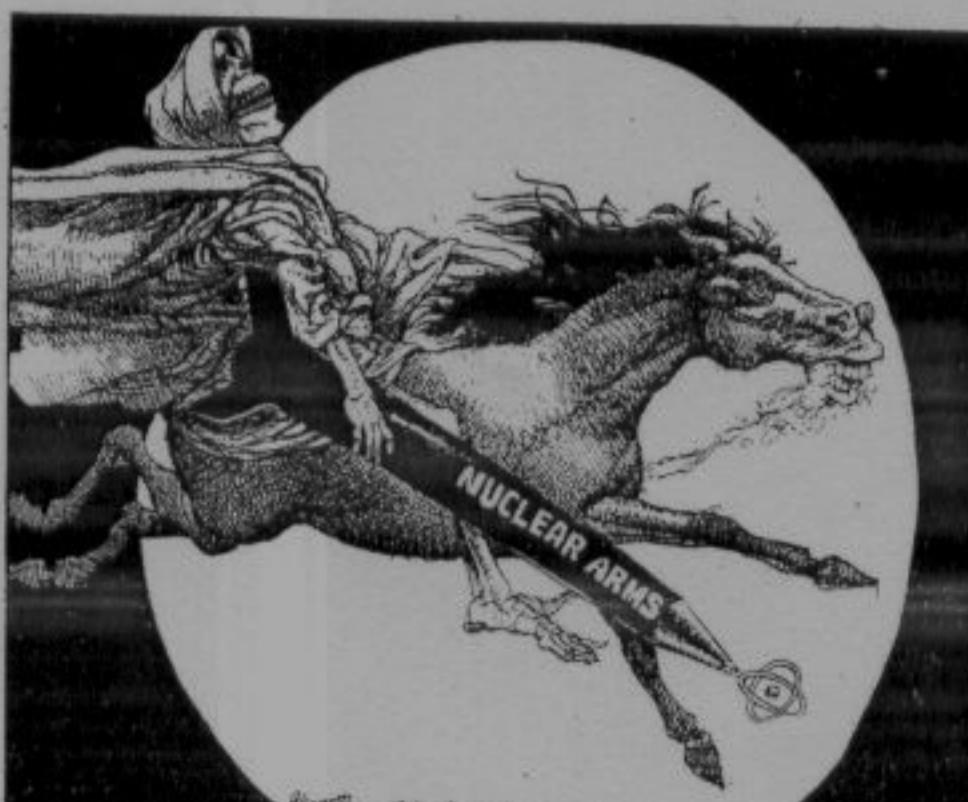
An equal number attended the sessions on April 9. Laura Pascoe, Youth Co-chairperson on the Provincial Executive, introduced Michael Lyons, Executive Secretary of the Metro Labour Council. Lyons condemned the colossal military expenditures and pointed out that several unions have gone on record for conversion of war industry to peacetime jobs.

The workshop following was on the same theme. University of Toronto economics professor Mel

Watkins spoke at length on important research that demonstrates convincingly that the war economy is destroying jobs and pushing up inflation. Later on he was joined on the platform by economist Lukin Robinson.

Kimberley Wilde, the Antiwar Committee newsletter editor, introduced Lynn McDonald, MP Broadview-Greenwood, at the afternoon session. McDonald reported on the party caucus' efforts to press for a full debate on disarmament and the Cruise testing issue in the House.

The workshop which followed was on party policy. Panelists were: Simon Rosenblum (Nickel Belt riding), co-editor of *Canada and the Nuclear Arms Race*, Kay Macpherson, a longstanding party and antiwar activist, Mac Makarchuk, former NDP MP from Brantford, and Gord Doctorow, chairperson of the NDP Antiwar Committee. This workshop emphasized party policy of withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, continued on page 4



with those we sharply disagree with can only be resolved by discussion, persuasion and pressure—never by the force of armed conflict. Co-existence is still the only acceptable alternative.

4. Deterrence to aggression by either side has been present over a long period of time. The means of "overkill" is available to both camps in the conflict. What is actually at issue now is the insane, useless, mass production of ever more powerful weapons, the cost of which is borne by the peoples of the world, including the people of Canada.

we fight against the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the present arms race. In fighting this insanity we fight for Canada and its people and not for the Soviet Union and its allies. We would, and we do, oppose any individuals whose policies are motivated by their favoring of the U.S.S.R. or its allies.

Our Party is an anti-war party because of our ever-present concern for the welfare of our people, for the welfare of the human race.

# NDP Antiwar Committee Policy Statement

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## Join, support the NDP Antiwar Committee

- I am willing to help elect the NDP
- I would like more information about the NDP Antiwar Committee
- I am willing to make a financial contribution

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone No. \_\_\_\_\_

**Mail to: NDP ANTIWAR COMMITTEE  
184 Main St., Toronto, Ont. M4E 2W1**

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#### LOCAL 400

### Maîtres Chez Nous

UNDER THE DIRECTION of Harvey Ladd, then a leader in Ontario, the IWA made its first substantial gains in Quebec and the Ottawa River Valley in the 1950s and 60s, chartering a clutch of independent locals such as 2-505 at Sterling Furniture in Montreal, 2-78 at Scanway Corporation in St. Jean, and 2-400 at Mercedes Textiles in Kirkland.

At the same time that the IWA was charting new organizational territory, the Quebec labour movement was undergoing a significant realignment of its own as longstanding working-class grievances combined with French Canadian nationalism to produce a new spirit of militancy. Caught up in this political fervour was Jean-Marie Bédard, a young, university-educated socialist and separatist from Quebec City, who joined the IWA as a staff member in the mid-1950s. Bédard, who counted separatist and left-wing heavyweights René Lévesque, leader of the Parti Québécois, and Michel Chartrand, rising star with the militant and

#### JE ME SOUVIENS

Long-time leader of Region 2, Jean-Marie Bédard, pictured here in the early 1960s, was both a socialist and separatist, a political combination common amongst Quebec labour leaders.

IWA ARCHIVES

nationalist Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, amongst his friends, remained as the union's Quebec lieutenant until 1984. "The loyalty that those people [from Quebec] had was remarkable. Not just for the organization, for the IWA, but for [French-speaking people]," IWA national staffer Bob Navarretta recalled, reflecting on the potent mix of separatist and left-wing politics that influenced the Quebec wing of the IWA. "The union was an important component for their cause."

With a membership drawn from Ontario and Quebec, Region 2 spanned Canada's "two solitudes." At no time was this more obvious than in the early to mid 1980s, when the IWA set about merging Regions 1 and 2 in preparation for its eventual secession from the American-based parent organization, a move that brought the political differences between the two sides of the district into sharp relief. The argument in favour of this initiative was straightforward: with the economy in recession, governments and corporations on the offensive, and membership numbers in free fall, it made sense to combine smaller independent locals and sub-locals and pool scarce human and financial resources. Bédard and other local leaders from east of the Ottawa River did not oppose the idea of creating a larger political framework, but they insisted on special terms and conditions – 21 in all – that safeguarded the Quebec organization's

autonomy within the IWA. It was a position not unlike those being negotiated by other Quebec-based labour organizations. The Quebec Federation of Labour was granted special status by the Canadian Labour Congress in 1974, and the Quebec wing of the United Auto Workers received similar privileges from its parent organization a decade later.

Following a raucous convention in 1984, Region 2 held its annual election, one that was widely seen by union members as a referendum on the merger proposal and the question of special status for the Quebec locals. Bédard and his allies were shut out by a slate headed by Bill Pointon, a pioneer unionist from Ontario. In the wake of the election, the Quebec locals, already skeptical of IWA president Jack Munro's willingness to work with Quebec – at one point during the merger debate Munro told Bédard that “the best thing he could do [for the IWA] was retire” – started to look for another home. Some locals ended up in the Canadian Paperworkers Union, while others followed Pierre Collin, a service rep under Bédard and a leftist and staunch separatist in his own right, into the newly formed Syndicat des travailleurs et travailleuses des produits manufacturés et du personnel de bureau. “It was disastrous for the IWA as a whole,” Claude Lambert, who was president of one of the Quebec locals at the time, remarked years later.

Between the mid-1980s and the early 1990s, Quebec's geographical Local 400 remained inactive. Since 1992, however, things have started to turn around. Buoyed by the work of bilingual organizer René Brixhe, a long-time activist with



#### SITBA SEPARATION

Prior to the merger of locals and sub-locals in Region 2 and the creation of IWA-Canada, the IWA's Quebec locals left the union in protest.

IWA ARCHIVES

Lumber and Saw, the IWA secured certifications with Mercedes Textiles in Kirkland and Produits Forestières, a small hardwood and softwood mill in Fort Coulonge. Three more deals have since been signed. “There are many non-union plants in Quebec or plants with independent associations that require strong union organizations,” Norm Rivard, national fourth vice-president, observed in 1999, looking to the future.

“There are also workers in the eastern part of the province that are potential members.” □



#### LA BELLE PROVINCE

On the job at Consolidated-Bathurst in St. Laurent in 1960 is Charlie Beaulieu, then president of Local 2-279.

IWA ARCHIVES

Indeed, so devastating – and sustained – were the combined effects of high unemployment, high inflation, plant closures, and government labour policy that Patterson's successor as the head of Region 2, Jean-Marie Bédard, a socialist and separatist from Quebec, speculated that what working people were witnessing in this period was not merely an economic downturn, but the “twilight of capitalism” itself. “Capitalism was a necessary phase of history. It developed the means of production and distribution and that was its progressive role. The economy built by capitalism, however, has developed to the point where the material foundations exist on which to build a new social, economic, and political order which we call ‘socialism,’” he stated, his language and analysis laying bare his knowledge of history and Marxist economics. “Capitalism has become an obstacle standing in the way of the next phase of historical development, advance, and progress. It is no longer progressive, it is in a state of decay and is profoundly reactionary...The working class of the United States and Canada are being summoned by history to play a significant role, and that is the final elimination of capitalism.”

But as inspiring as this analysis might have been, no doubt Bédard and the small army of rank-and-file organizers, fighting in the trenches on a day-to-day basis, understood that despite their best collective efforts, things would likely get worse before they got better. As the region's membership base eroded, so too did its revenue, a financial reality that forced the district to curtail services, shut down its newspaper, lay off office staff and organizers, and hike the per-capita tax levied on local unions, a necessary but unpopular move. “We are getting beat up on and we are getting beat up pretty bloody bad,” remarked one union member.

Significantly, by the time of the 1982 convention, local and regional officers had started to debate the possibilities and politics of combining the region's many sub-locals and locals into larger political units and merging the entire structure into Region 1.

Region president Bédard and the Quebec locals asked that a number of conditions be granted to the IWA's Quebec locals to ensure their autonomy in the event of a merger. After Bédard lost the leadership of Region 2 in 1984 to Bill Pointon, those locals, believing their concerns would not be recognized, decided to leave the IWA.

Local autonomy was important to the remaining Region 2 members, but they nevertheless voted overwhelmingly in favour of merger with Region 1. Bill Pointon, who became fourth vice-president of IWA-Canada when the regions joined, spent considerable time and effort co-ordinating a series of smaller mergers involving 28 independent locals and 80 geographic sub-locals in Ontario. These consolidations, based on geographical proximity, took place

J-M Bédard:

*'The working class of the United States and Canada are being summoned by history to play a significant role, and that is the final elimination of capitalism.'*

2

## **On the founding of the Canadian auto workers union [CAW]**

*Article notes title -- by Web Ed.)*

*Handwritten unpublished notes on the founding of the Canadian Autoworkers Union, by Ross Dowson found in 1985*

Come September the some 125,000 Canadian autoworkers affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress will gather at convention to launch the Canadian Autoworkers Union independent of the structures governing the US membership of the United Autoworkers. There is certain to be a continued relationship with the US autoworkers union headed by Beiber not only (by) reason of the fact that the Canadian CAW was born (with) the bulk of the membership of the new union (being in) conflict with the same powerful set of bosses – GM, Ford & Chrysler – who dominate auto production on the continent, all the more so because of the Auto Pact and the strong bonds of solidarity through which the giant auto monopoly divided up the lush North American market.

The dispute of the Canadian-based White leadership with the US-based Beiber autoworkers leadership appeared to burst out so unexpectedly, and to escalate so rapidly that it caught most, even some seasoned observers, by surprise. But in reality it has been a long-festering one and marks a decisive turning point in the lengthy struggle of the Canadian union movement as it has grown in numbers, experience & maturity to set up a structure & forge a leadership of its own under its own control.

**In fact it is the culminating point in the struggle that then UAW director Dennis McDermott warned about as being irrepressible, as little as a year before the historic CLC convention in Vancouver in 1974. McDermott cautioned the international (US-based) leadership against dismissing "the fervent nationalistic attitudes that pervade this country... It is my current belief," he warned "that unless international unions in Canada can make some fairly drastic accommodations & adjustments to the needs of the current emotions in this country, then the role of the internationals is in serious jeopardy. Genuine internationalist unionism in Canada as a true partner is one thing," he said. "A US union with a branch plant mentality and Canada treated as an occasionally patronizing afterthought is something else," he said.**

Then as now the question of mergers, the fractured character of the Canadian labor movement and mergers to be overcome was a burning one. Half the 87 US-based unions that in all represent about 70% of the CLC membership had fewer than 500 members – but there could be no mergers in Canada without US head office consent or unless prior mergers taking place in the US made them an automatic process in Canada.

**It was the Canadian Steelworkers leadership, then as now, who struck out against demands for Canadian trade union autonomy at the same time as it, with the support of the CLC executive, struck out against the demand of Quebec unions for special status within the CLC. They equated Quebec nationalism to Canadian nationalism which they opposed equally, as did guest speaker Labor minister John Munro, representing the Trudeau government, who opined that "while ardent nationalism can in some areas be both wholesome and beneficial, this is not one of those areas."**

*When the CLC brass rejected Quebec autonomy demands the delegates to the 1974 CLC convention rose up in a tumultuous outburst to defeat it. As the same convention reaffirmed what became known as guidelines of Canadian autonomy were, although of the 87 affiliated internationals only 37 claimed to have not all three of them (below), and a decision (taken) expressing determination (they) be complied with: 1) election of Canadian officers by Canadians; 2) determination of officers dealing with Canadian policies by elected Canadian officers or members, 3) and authority to be vested in Canadian elected representatives to speak for the union in Canada.*

Now some ten years later, we have witnessed the decline in strength of the mass industrial union membership, the defection of ten construction trades unions and the assumption of the Carpenters, Labourers & Ironworkers of a dual membership in the AFL-CIO and in the Canadian Labour Congress, and the continued growth of the Canadian national unions with the vast influx of women members, so that they have become the majority of CLC membership.

**It is this long ongoing struggle for autonomy by the Canadian membership of US-based unions that explains the united and relatively smooth and cool decision to split the Canadian autoworkers from the Detroit centre. Not one delegate in attendance at the April 1 meeting of the Canadian and the Quebec Canadian US UAW councils expressed any opposition to White's report-back of the UAW executive vote of 24 to one rejection of the Council's bid for Canadian autonomy.**

**Nine days earlier the 300-member Council had authorized White to ask the executive board for full and complete Canadian autonomy. According to *Toronto Star* (labor editor)**

*(- notes end) See also:*

1) *FORWARD*, 1984, Nov.12-3: "Canadian Autoworkers buck US leadership pattern")

2) Paperback: *Bob White: Hard Bargains; My life on the line*, 1988, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, especially Chapters 20-21: A Separate Union, Strong, Independent and Penniless, pp. 365-410

# Left Caucus Newsletter

Feb - March 1988  
Vol. 2 No. 3



## NDP leaders retreat from anti-war policy

By Gord Doctorow  
*Oriole*

When, at the end of 1987, the heads of the United States and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to dismantle intermediate range (INF) nuclear weapons, the peoples of the world collectively heaved a sigh of relief. For the first time in many years, ordinary people were beginning to shake off the frightening fatalism of an inevitable nuclear confrontation. The anti-war movements gained a new momentum. Public discussion



has turned not only to making deeper inroads to reduce all types of nuclear arsenals but also in reducing conventional arms. Soviet leader Gorbachev's Christmas television message to the American people, which was broadcast around the world, met this new sense of optimism by calling for the reduction of conventional armaments. His words are being matched by significant actions. More recently, he announced his government's intention to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan by mid-May.

Are these not compelling signs for pursuing new peace initiatives by concentrating on disarmament, one may rationally think. But while all this was taking place, the Mulroney government, fortified by the rhetoric of the cold war, presented its "Defence" White Paper last June without a hint of recognition of the new world situation. On the contrary, its White Paper thrust Canada headlong into the forefront of a renewed arms drive. Defence Minister Perrin Beatty proposed in this paper that this country of 24 million accept a military budget of \$183 billion over the next 15 years. And what did he offer up to the Canadian people who are just barely starting to experience a renewed hope for the future of this planet? Some \$15 billion for 12 nuclear submarines, six new frigates, 35 marine helicopters, 1,200 trucks, tanks, guns, planes, bombs and other lethal goodies that a Rambo-in-charge may wish. No longer will the NORAD surveillance system rely solely on electronic means in the inaccessible areas of the northern Arctic -- military personnel in nuclear submarines will occupy themselves in a state of military preparedness.

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## Rally to NDP Left Caucus Conference on March 19

By Bill Clinton  
*Oriole*

The 1988 Left Caucus conference is approaching. All NDP members are welcome to attend and to use the opportunity to discuss tasks and perspectives for the coming year and to elect a new Steering Committee.

The conference will take place on March 19 at 519 Church St. Registration will be at 9:00 and will cost \$15 (\$8 for the underemployed).

The fee includes lunch and the cost of registration for the Left Caucus Newsletter for 1988-89. Speakers will include Dan Heap, delivering a critique on the Defence White Paper, trade unionist Stan Gray on Worker's Health and Safety, Toronto school board trustee Olivia Chow and Ont. Teachers' Federation Vice-President Malcolm Buchanan who will talk on shaping the future NDP education policy, and Canadian Auto Workers' researcher Sam Gindon leading a workshop on a socialist approach to free trade. The lunch-time workshops will be on Education, Free Trade, Women's Reproductive Rights and Violence Against Women and Children.

## The 'Last Debate' on Free Trade

By Harry Kopyto  
*Oakwood*

The Canada-U.S. free trade debate is taking place as Canada's economy has become even more integrated with that of the U.S. than ever before.

As Gary Teeple points out in his article, *North American Free Trade: The Last Debate (Our Generation, 1987)*, "Given the degree of interlocking capital and fusion of the U.S. and Canadian economies, they are indistinguishable." Teeple summarizes the definitive character of this process by pronouncing that this is "the last debate," the final elimination of the last vestiges of Canada's sovereignty over its economy.

Seventy-eight per cent of Canadian exports go the U.S., up from 68% a decade ago. Well over half of all trade takes place between U.S. corporations and their branch-plant Canadian subsidiaries, thereby accelerating the branch plant nature of the Canadian economy.

In reality free trade is already a fact of life dictated by U.S. corporations who own or control the commanding heights of the Canadian economy. The Mulroney-Reagan deal is designed to complete the process of full integration by eliminating all tariffs and most other

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# No independence without socialism and democratic control of the economy

Continuation from page 1

trade barriers by 1999.

Such integration is inevitable within the confines of the present social system. The capitalist market has transformed Canada into a branch-plant economy. By removing limits on U.S. capital's activities in the financial institutions and by creating a North American energy pool, the Mulroney government is leaving Canada wide open to U.S. takeovers of the last bastions of the Canadian economy.

Many Canadians, apprehensive about the economic outlook for the future and seeking to avert pressures on our economy by U.S. trade barriers, are being told by Big Business and its government that an agreement must be signed now, at all cost, or Canadians will forever suffer.

The Liberal Party is split on the issue with Liberal Party Big Business interests lining up with the rest of its class in promoting free trade. Leader John Turner has adopted a strident nationalism with militant overtones -- ironic for a leader of a party which has traditionally aided and abetted continentalism. He is seeking to tap into the broad fears of Canadians that the free trade agreement would threaten the advanced social security schemes and put Canadian sovereignty on the line. By upstaging the NDP in its coalition with the trade union movement against free trade, even characterizing the free trade deal as a "sell-out", Turner seeks to revitalize his party's image and raise its profile. With the NDP failing to pose its own perspective and vision against Mulroney's appeal, the Liberals appear to be succeeding.

The debate, however, seems to be over before it has really begun. It is now only months before U.S. authorities sign their names to an agreement already approved in principle by the governments of both countries. In Canada, the main political forces have already taken sides -- the business elite and Tories in favor of free trade, labor and the NDP along with the Liberal leadership against.

Such a political delineation holds treacherous dangers for the NDP, as the current decline in the NDP's standing in the polls confirms. By advocating a nationalist vision of Canada devoid of socialist content, the NDP leadership is rapidly reducing its profile to that of a second, weaker Liberal party, readily eclipsed in the battle between the major protagonists.

There is a solution. The NDP could speak out boldly with its own message -- **FOR AN INDEPENDENT CANADA THROUGH SOCIALISM**. A programmatic intervention in the free trade debate around this concept will give us a clear focus of our own, and build the NDP as the real alternative against continentalism.

The imperialist nature of U.S. capitalism -- in Vietnam, in Nicaragua and in Grenada -- continues to fuel a powerful anti-U.S. imperialist sentiment in Canada. The genuine yearnings of Canadians to be masters in their own home can only be realized by projecting the expropriation of the U.S. megacorporations which dominate Canada's economy.

The class nature of the movement against free trade emphasizes the dynamic to the left inherent in the struggle. The writing is on the wall for the NDP: Turn Left -- or go downhill.

Yet the NDP leadership, intoxicated by the prospect of sharing power to the point of seeking respectability at all costs, mimics the Liberals with its own brand of chauvinistic nationalism, stripped of any remaining vestiges of socialism, as if the NDP's socialist heritage were the obstacle to electoral success. The drift of the NDP leadership to the right in the free trade debate can only act to the NDP's disadvantage in an alliance in which the NDP will remain a junior partner, a somewhat blurred reflection of the Liberals. The lessons of the last election in Ontario remain unabsorbed by the leadership of the party.

But the NDP membership have spoken on the issues the leadership is seeking to submerge. The 1985 federal NDP convention decisively rejected the hodge-podge of economic proposals that NDP finance critic Steven Langdon now unveils as the leadership's contribution to the free trade debate. At that time, the delegates rejected Langdon's proposals and followed the Left Caucus lead in calling for a policy that give public ownership more emphasis.

The jettisoning of party policies by the leadership leaves the party rudderless, buffeted by opportunist pressures. Without a clear and distinct program based on the democratic decisions of the membership after debate at conventions, the party loses any ability to play a leading role in the discussion.

The party has developed some important policy positions on the major questions raised in the debate. On the question of political sovereignty, party policy calls for withdrawal from the U.S.-imperialist alliances of NATO and NORAD. On the question of economic sovereignty, the party policy is to extend public ownership including the nationalization of a major bank. As a solution to structural deformities and unemployment, the party stands against privatization, and the **Left Caucus** has posed the need to take over the branch plants and for economic planning and workers' control.

The NDP can retake the initiative in the debate. Not since the days of the Waffle has the NDP had such an opportunity to intervene in the public debate with the following concepts and demands:

- \*No to free trade; for an independent and socialist Canada! There can be no independence without socialism. That is the message that the NDP must bring to the people of Canada.
- \*No to branch plant closures; public ownership and workers' democratic control of branch plant industries unable to maintain their operations!
- \*No to privatization; public ownership and worker-controlled administration of vital areas of economic activity, including day care, the post office, natural resources and transportation!
- \*For a shorter work week as the most effective answer to structural unemployment!

# Left Caucus newsletter

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## Vote labour to power in Ottawa

By Harry Kopyto  
St. Paul's

The NDP electoral campaign is in a state of severe crisis. Poll after poll has revealed that the party which a mere few weeks earlier stood number one in popularity has now slipped to third place -- low 20% range in the latest polls and still weakening. The architects of the NDP electoral strategy have left us rudderless in the midst of what should have been the most propitious breakthrough for labor politics on Canada in decades. Never has the NDP been so popular before an election, the Liberals so moribund, and the Conservatives so discredited all at the same time. How did the NDP blow it?



First and foremost the campaign was Broadbent-personality-oriented, insipid and devoid of significant political content because of its lack of a fundamentally different vision of a future society. Worse, the party has emerged in public perception as the party of opportunism, fudging on its program to win votes.

Broadbent's statement that "I don't rule out a coalition with Liberals; I don't rule out a coalition with the Tories" threw the campaign off from the start. It set back the NDP's historic drive to form a labor government in Ottawa, and undermined its credibility on the free trade issue by offering to unite with the big business, continentalist parties to govern the country together.

The party leadership should have entered the election campaign proud of its program and prepared to consolidate its support by lessening superficial anxiety to

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## NDP is the only choice for women

By Lois Bedard  
High Park-Swansea

Women owe it to themselves and to Canada to vote for the only party that has consistently led and supported all progressive legislation affecting women's equality. Women are 52% of the population and more women vote than men. Statistics show that women tend to vote in greater numbers than men for social equality issues. To win women's equality is to work to free men from their chauvinistic chains. Thus a great many women vote for the New Democratic Party that began the fight against the Mulroney Free Trade Deal in Parliament and has continued to fight it along side the women's movement and labor on the hustings today.

The Liberals and Conservatives understand the problems. Ontario Liberal cabinet minister Chaviva Hosek knows the women's movement and even gave high praise to the NDP when she was president of the Na-

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## NFLD. Innu protest NATO air base

By Bill Clinton  
Orlote

On October 4, 150 Mantagnais-Naskapi Natives (also known as Innu) were arrested for peacefully occupying the main runway at Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay, in Labrador. They were charged by the RCMP with "mischief" and imprisoned in the penitentiary in St. John's Newfoundland.

The Innu's crime was their protest against the low-level flight of military planes from the base illegally sited on Innu land. The federal government, though it recognized this fact in 1978, has stalled proceedings in deference to its military-industrial priorities and arrogantly refuses to negotiate with the Innu. The reason for this is the importance it attaches to the base. Goose Bay was specifically chosen as a site for the training of NATO pilots because the surrounding terrain closely resembles certain key areas of the Soviet Union. NATO pilots are being trained in low-level flying so they can avoid Soviet radar systems and more easily penetrate Soviet defences. Realizing the marketable qualities of such a training area, the federal government puts great store in it. They have already rented it out to the armed forces of Britain, West Germany and the Netherlands. Belgium and Italy are two more prospective customers the government is cur-

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# Vote labour to power in Ottawa

Continued from page 2

its anti-NATO position to its growing base of support by exposing the true nature of these military alliances. Instead, the NDP leadership chose to jettison the party's historical anti-war position by a manoeuvre behind the backs of the membership. It ended up imitating the Tory commitment of Canada to the worldwide arms drive. In its *Report on Common Security*, adopted by the federal council this past spring, the party leadership revised the party's position of Canadian withdrawal from NATO to an indefinite time in the future dependent upon the permission of fellow NATO members. Moreover, the *Report* called for a home-grown arms industry which Brian Mulroney has hypocritically estimated would exceed the Tory's present program for military expansion by two billion dollars. Most astounding, however, is the federal leadership's call for the replacement of the U.S.-dominated military alliance of NORAD instead of its abolition.

Even on Quebec Broadbent has undermined NDP prospects by opposing advocacy by the Quebec NDP of the defence of francophone rights. He identified with efforts to maintain federal funds to promote English language rights and schools in Quebec in the face of Quebec leader Michael Agnaieff's assertion that "you would have to be blind not to see that the only language threatened in Canada and in Quebec is French."

The shift to the right has failed to convince new supporters and alienated the old ones. As the *Toronto Globe and Mail* wrote October 22, "the image-makers have placed Ed Broadbent into a dark banker's suit. You never hear the word 'socialist' from Mr. Broadbent or any reference to take over the commanding heights of the economy". Echoing this theme the *Toronto Star* reported September 20 that Broadbent and his staff "know how to stay out of the news" and Broadbent "succeeded in convincing some of his colleagues to forsake or shelve some of the more radical elements of their agendas".

This strategy has gone haywire. Mid-term polls showed Mulroney has already exceeded the NDP issueless leader in popularity.

The Broadbent leadership first compounded the difficulty by muting the party's full program in favor of concentrating on opposition to the free-trade pact. This manoeuvre, however, played into the hands of the Liberals who projected a vision of Canada as a vigorous bourgeois nationalist state. This accounts for the dramatic recoup by the Liberal leader who a mere week or two earlier was a subject of virulent attack by the media and prematurely counted out of the electoral race by an overenthusiastic Broadbent who concentrated his opposition initially on the Tories. Even Brian Mulroney projects a future vision of continental integration to Canadians so naive as to believe that it would somehow increase our standard of living or the marketability of our commodities.

Broadbent alone stands without a clear vision of the future, that is, as a reformist defender of the status quo, unable to project the path towards an independent, socialist Canada. Broadbent sounded like an echo of John Turner who has undercut the NDP through his own demagogic attack on continental integration and the adoption of a progressive program of reforms in-

distinguishable from that of the NDP. Broadbent has adapted to pressures from groups like the *Toronto Star* which cunningly advocates a *deja vu* of the disastrous Peterson/Rae alliance which ruled Ontario for two years. Such illusions have even spread to writers in *Canadian Dimension*, who view the free trade pact as being of such historical importance that they call for support of whatever party, regardless of its class basis, is best able to defeat the government. On the other hand, Broadbent's recent announcement of the demise of the free trade pact as a certainty is not only premature and improbable but once again gives the Liberals the initiative on an issue a majority of Canadians consider to be most important.

Should the NDP leadership, even in the dying week or two of its campaign shift to the left, defending its principles and stand by its program, there would be a possibility of stopping the bleeding of the party. In an election campaign characterized by an unstable and searching electorate a sharp turn to the left can win back the support shown for the NDP earlier in the polls for approximately two years. Now, more than ever before, the NDP must unfurl its banner against the prospect of integrated corporate North America, with its tendency to increasing concentration and recession, to a Canada liberated from the military-industrial complex. This calls for immediate withdrawal from NATO and NORAD, equality for women, freedom of choice, nationalization of a major bank and expropriation of runaway American industries.

These demands, however, must be tied to a socialist vision of Canada with a planned economy designed to meet the interests of working people. Instead of declaring free trade a dead issue, already won, Broadbent should be attacking the leader of the Liberal Party which oversaw Canada's continental integration to the point where 80% of U.S.-Canadian trade is already "free". Canada's own capitalist class has aided the penetration of U.S. capital into Canada, in accordance with irreversible economic forces and laws, an inevitable result stemming from Canada's contiguous existence with the most powerful capitalist country in the world. A fearful and uncertain Canadian electorate will not be inspired by talk of a caring father figure or fair mindedness when searching for fundamental answers. Without any socialist vision to counter the concerns that Canadians have about "free trade", Broadbent won the support of only one out of ten viewers on the mid-election television leadership debates.

Since the mid-election TV debate, when Turner pushed the election to the left with his attack on Mulroney's "sell-out of Canada" to the "multinational corporations", the NDP has been left with the choice of becoming a "me-too" party associated with the status quo or of putting forward our vision of the future of Canada. A socialist Canada will be fully independent of the U.S. war machine, will end Canada's role as a prison-house of nations, will create industrial jobs as part of a strategy based on public repatriation of our natural resources, will place working people at the levers of power and will use public ownership to end our economic marginalization.

Will the NDP stand up for socialism when anti-communist feeling is declining, the movements of so

Continued on page 5

# Kuerti campaign is model for NDP

By Gord Doctorow  
Oriole

One of the bright spots in the NDP election campaign is Don Valley North's NDP candidate, Anton Kuerti. Best known as Canada's premier concert pianist, he has also distinguished himself as an antiwar activist. He was a founder of the University of Toronto's Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam in the late 60's. He is also passionately opposed to the U.S. war drive and counterposes defence of the environment from the ravages of the corporate polluters against the so-called defence programs of the corporate capitalist parties.

*"I am running for the NDP because it really is different from the other parties. We are not controlled by big corporate interests. We represent people of all types, but especially working people, minorities, women, the dispossessed ...."*

In this election campaign, Kuerti has chosen to take the NATO issue head-on. He unequivocally advocates withdrawal for Canada. He also takes a clear stand against the so-called free trade plans of the Tories. His attacks against the corporate polluters are tough: he advocates criminal prosecution of those responsible for reckless acts against the environment. All this is outlined in a very full programmatic leaflet.

The pro-working class edge of his campaign is stated in his reasons for choosing to run for the NDP: "I am running for the NDP because it really is different from the other parties. We are not controlled by big corporate interests. We represent people of all types, but especially working people, minorities, women, the dispossessed ...."

In addition to this leaflet, Kuerti has produced a cassette for widespread distribution. Side 1 contains an introduction by Stephen Lewis, who provides a brief biographical note, followed by a speech of some 20 minutes by Kuerti, where he takes time to develop his platform in a full way. Side 2 has a sample of his music, a Mendelssohn concerto. Five thousand cassettes have been produced for canvassers' distribution.

Kuerti explains that he sees an important parallel between his role as an artist and his intended role as a politician -- the improvement of society. He states that the urgency of imminent nuclear destruction and catastrophic ecological damage have moved him to put himself forward politically.

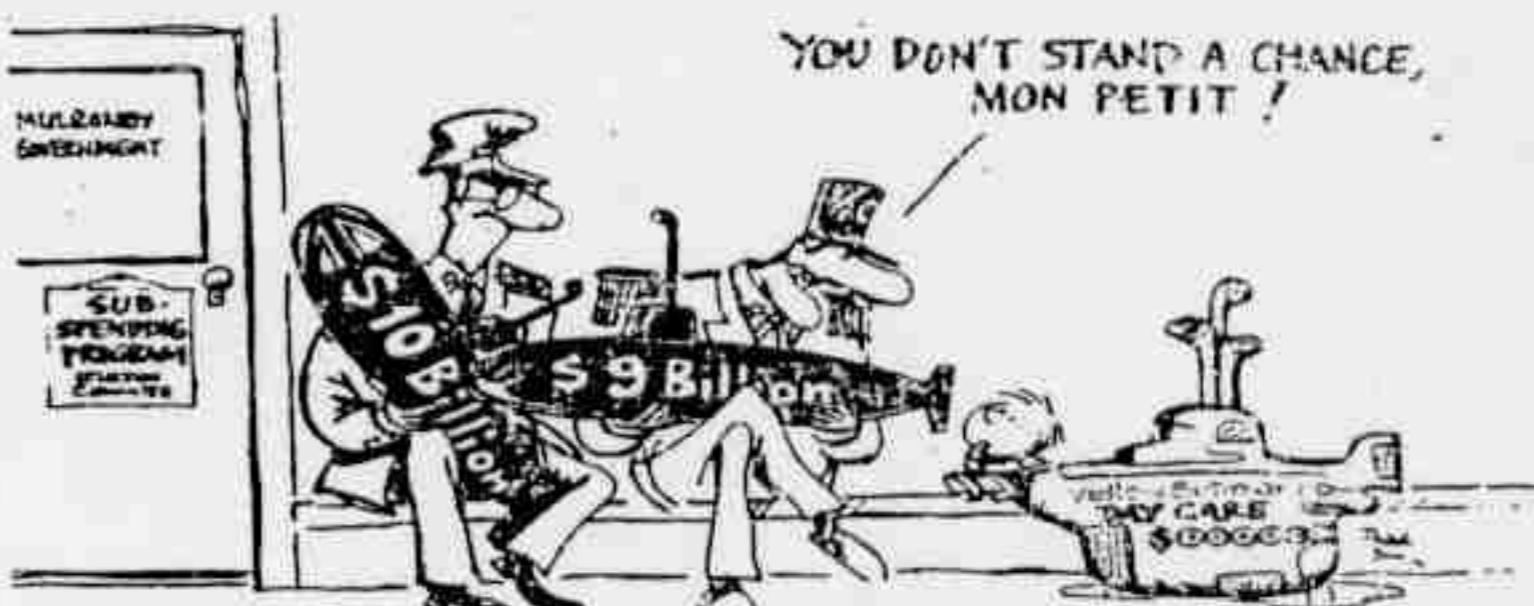
He identifies himself with the working people of Canada in his opposition to free trade. For example, he argues that Mulroney's deal may result "in the reduction of our already too low minimum wage" and jeopardize our unemployment insurance programs. He sees the corporations blackmailing workers with threats of factory relocations south if the workers are unwilling to relinquish their hard-won benefits. He concludes his arguments against free trade with an al-

ternative vision of Canada: "Now Canada can and should compete with the United States, but I ask you -- 'Do you want to compete only as to who can produce the most material goods at the lowest cost regardless of wages, benefits, working conditions, environmental impact and cultural concerns?' Or should we not rather compete as to who can create the most caring, healthy and enlightened society, one which can help all its members, and not just the privileged ones, meet their needs and realize their hopes?"

*"Do you want to compete only as to who can produce the most material goods at the lowest cost regardless of wages, benefits, working conditions, environmental impact and cultural concerns? Or should we not rather compete as to who can help all its members, and not just the privileged ones, meet their needs and realize their hopes?"*

In the lengthy section devoted to opposing the arms drive, Kuerti calls for an end to Canadian collaboration with Star Wars, an end to the Liberal-initiated cruise missile testing, scrapping of nuclear subs in favor of reallocating funds for important social programs like childcare. He explains why NATO is in reality an aggressive military alliance which imperils the world and suggests means by which Canadian withdrawal should take place.

The Kuerti campaign has generated a lot of excitement with its clarity of purpose and its left character. It demonstrates that despite the backsliding of the NDP leadership, the party continues to attract serious left-wingers. After all, the NDP is the only mass labor party in Canada and offers the only alternative to U.S. imperialism's grip on Canada.



## Party must turn left

*Continued from page 2*

cial protest of Natives and women are increasing and the electorate is seeking a vision of a Canada to face the uncertainty of the post-stock market crisis period? Or will we end up being too indistinguishable from the Liberals on free trade and foreign policy to be relevant, too muted to be heard and too opportunist to be trusted?

Broadbent's resistance to recognizing the reality of the NDP's drifting has undercut electoral prospects in ridings where the protest vote and anti-free trade vote will shift to the Liberals. The NDP leadership has failed to meet the major challenges of the election. We must exert every effort to win labor to power in the most important election in decades.

# NDP is the only choice for women

Continued from page 1

tional Action Committee on the Status of Women, but has developed obligations to her corporate backers. The NDP and its precursor the CCF, since the days of Canada's and the CCF's first woman parliamentarian, Agnes McPhail, have led the struggle together with working men and women.

Former NDP MP Pauline Jewitt carried a heroic battle in the Commons for an independent foreign policy for Canada against Cruise Missiles, NATO and NORAD, and against nuclear powered subs for Canada.

Former NDP MLA Rosemary Brown continues to fight for socialist policies against the "feminization of poverty". This means no to the federal Tories' and Ontario Liberals' new regressive sales taxes and a resounding yes to indexed pensions for Canadians at work and on QAS.

Evelyn Gigantes, NDP, led the struggle in the Ontario legislature for human rights on sexual orientation. NDP MP Marion Dewar took the cross-Canada initiative when she was mayor of Ottawa to establish the Municipal Referendum for nuclear free cities. She now continues the struggle for reproductive rights and against new laws restricting a woman's right to an abortion. Audrey McLaughlin campaigned and won her seat in the Yukon by opposing the Meech Lake Accord travesty rammed through by a committee of provincial premiers and the prime minister against Canadian women, Canadian natives, the aspirations of the autonomous French nation of Canada and of the people of the Territories.

NDP MP Margaret Mitchell braved the jibes and hoots of Tory male members in the House in her fight against rampant sexual attacks and the battering of wives. NDP MPP Marion Bryden consistently worked on pay equity to narrow the ever-widening wage gap between men's and women's wages in a society that tends to lower all workers' real wages. NDP MPP Ruth Grier continues to fight for clean air and water, affordable housing and better plant closure laws to protect workers and their families while NDP MP Lynn MacDonald carries the struggle for fair taxation for workers, the poor and especially women -- no free income tax rides for corporate welfare bums.

One third of all NDP nominated candidates in British Columbia are women who are fighting the Conservatives and Liberals. The 84 NDP nominated women in Canada for this key 1988 election will fight with you for your Canada, more than the Canada envisioned by the Tories and Liberals. You can trust the NDP to continue to be in the vanguard for social change because it is the political spearhead of the women's groups and of the labor movement. The NDP is fighting for Canadian sovereignty for working Canadians, universal access to affordable daycare, for indexed pensions, for universal access to medicare, for reproductive rights, for constitutional rights for women and natives. NDP convention policy commits its parliamentary representatives to move to amend the Meech Lake Accord so that once again the federal government will ensure uniformity on Canadian social programs. Vote for equality for yourself, your mate, Canadian sons and daughters. Vote NDP! Vote for NDP women only!

## Left Caucus challenge to NDP fed. council

By Ross Dowson

St. George-St. David

Although the edge has been taken off the longstanding threat of humankind's nuclear destruction, the danger of war remains the major challenge before the world's peoples. Developments in the Soviet areas stand in startling contradiction to the arms build up elsewhere across the globe, including here in Canada.

In 1969 the delegates at the federal NDP convention adopted a position that Canada should withdraw from membership in the U.S. State Department-dominated "cold war" NATO/NORAD military alliances. Ever since then the party leadership, when not attempting to pass resolutions such as it did at the 1983 and again at the 1985 convention that would reverse the party's stand, have publicly declared their opposition to official party policy. This crude display of opportunism, instead of mollifying has only served to embolden such avowed enemies of the party as the National Citizen's Coalition as well as many self-professed "friends" who urge the NDP to go all the way and in particular to line up into a coalition behind the Liberals on the free trade issue.



**Nothing to do but cripple the Party to fit the shoe!**

Having failed to rescind the party's official position, and heading into the federal election where this position would be under heavy fire, this past spring, in apparent desperation, the leadership resorted to a process in crude violation of its most vaunted democratic principles. It assigned the International Affairs Committee the task of preparing a new statement to go before the federal Council entitled Canada's Stake in Common Security. While it is a double-talking hedging document, its function is clear -- to rid the party leadership of the embarrassing positions persistently defended by the party membership.

Whereas NDP policy conventions have been unequivocal in their rejection of NORAD, the new report states that "we will negotiate a new air defence alliance with the U.S. to replace NORAD..." With regards to NATO it relegates the decision to withdraw to an indefinite future and then only with the agreement of its NATO partners with whom it will continue to collaborate.

This backsliding was embarrassingly obvious when

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# Letter defends anti-NATO policy

Continued from page 3

Broadbent retreated before Liberal leader John Turner's pro-NATO attack in one of the leaders' debates. Broadbent affirmed what the Left Caucus had suspected: that an NDP government led by Broadbent would not presume to withdraw from NATO "unilaterally", i.e. without the consent of NATO in order to maintain stability (read the status quo). Ironically the relegation of the NDP's position to withdraw Canada from NATO to "some time in the future" has gravely hurt the NDP's electoral prospects, leaving it vulnerable to continuous charges of the crassest electoral opportunism.

Since the Federal Council report all the normal channels of the party have been blocked by preparations to fight and win the election. But the Left Caucus decided in the interests of the party that it dare not remain silent. Its steering committee met in June to discuss and endorse a statement re-affirming previous NATO/NORAD opposition and in particular condemning the Federal Council's new statement committing the party to support of a major expansion of Canada's military budget. It decided to alert the party ranks by circulating its open letter to the Federal Council along with a petition form for getting additional signatures in support of this protest. Copies of the Left Caucus Open Letter can be obtained by sending in a request to the ONDP Left Caucus Bulletin. Whichever way the election goes this remains unfinished business before the party.

## Readers' responses to L.C. Open Letter

Key NDP candidate nomination meetings in the Toronto area were distributed with copies of the Left Caucus statement in response to the federal NDP leadership's *Canada's Stake in Common Security*. Copies were circulated to the political contingent in the Toronto La-

bour Day parade and signed petition sheets were gathered. Out-of-town mailings received a welcome response, not only in the return of more than a dozen signed petitions but expressions of solidarity with our action.

A Queen's University student expressed strong disagreement with the Federal Council position, declared himself to be a convinced socialist and expressed a desire to become involved in Left Caucus activity. A Manitoba recipient seized the opportunity to tell us that "the major problem with the NDP is its weak 'social democratic' babbling. Bring back Rosemary Brown who spoke for socialism!", he told us. "I will watch for a strong position in favour of the Palestinians."

We also received letters of solidarity from activists in the environment movement and in the anti-war movement such as ACT for Disarmament. Several correspondents included copies of statements they have made at conferences of such gatherings. And on top of all those good things we received a \$20 cheque from a longstanding supporter.

## British Labour Party upholds unilateralism

By a majority of over a million votes, the delegates to last month's convention of the British Labour Party once again repelled the Kinnock leadership's efforts to rid the party of its unilateral position on nuclear arms.

They reaffirmed the party's position that, a future Labour government will divest itself of all nuclear arms and shut down the nuclear bases that the U.S., with the agreement of the Thatcher government, has imposed on British soil.

The delegates burst into cheers when constituency activists reminded the conference that Britain was spending "enough money to fry the people in Russia while the people in this country are dying of hypothermia."

Laid out in a Union Shop

## Left Caucus newsletter

### ONDp Left Caucus

Station M, Box 107  
Toronto, Ontario M6S 4T2

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# THE MARCH (1991) ONDP CONVENTION--WHERE NOW?

by Harry Kopyto and Gordon Doctorow  
(*bold emphases by the Web Ed.*)

## The current economic situation

**Algoma – the Canadian-owned company that produces more than 70% of Canada's structural steel is in deep financial trouble. Premier Bob Rae has promised to pump tens of millions of dollars to keep Algoma going. But Bob Rae's goodwill aside, the question still remains: can Canada's industrial heartland survive the Mulroney government's efforts to jettison Canadian industries in favor of continental integration? Can the NDP in Ontario bail out our highest-paying union jobs in steel and auto parts when the federal government, acting as the executive committee of big business interests, is offering no resistance to the U.S. takeover of our branch-plant economy, threatening to leave one industry towns, like Sault Ste. Marie, empty shells? Are the NDP's hopes real? Or are the NDP's efforts "to do the right thing" going to be crushed by the Tories' offensive?**

**As with the rest of the English-speaking world, Canada is in a state of growing economic decline. The current recession is characterized by features which have been aggravated by measures designed to maintain a high rate of profit and postpone the unavoidable downturn. These measures have included an intensification of competition and trade and a growing tendency for conglomerate capital to transfer its operations to regions of low wages and minimal social costs.**

This pattern has taken on a specific form in the North American context. We are now firsthand victims of the consequences of two years of "free trade" with the United States and at the threshold of becoming integrated into important sectors of the Mexican economy as well, in a more formal fashion. The transformation of three North American countries into one economic trade unit is an unavoidable and necessary consequence of the efforts of the U.S. economic elite to maintain its relative position vis-a-vis Japan and Germany while at the same time avoiding the negative impact of having become the world's largest borrower instead of the world's largest creditor in a few short years.

The Conservative Party has enthusiastically embraced this agenda for continental integration. More so than at any other time, it has become the enthusiastic agent and sycophantic booster of continentalism. The Conservatives are willing to lock Canada into a high dollar rate as part of the Free Trade Agreement, thereby undermining irreversibly important sectors of Canadian manufacturing industries, such as textiles. This highlights the degree to which the Conservative Party is willing to set aside any "specific" interests of the Canadian economic elite in order to service "the greater good" of integrating Canada into the North American economy within the structures of a single free trade region.

In order to implement this policy, the federal government has facilitated the de-industrialization of the economy, taking no measures whatever to halt the epidemic of closures which is threatening Canadian communities across the country and in every province. The working class in this country is having inflicted upon it the agenda of the Conservatives — the draining away of our best-paying and highly skilled jobs in industries such as steel and auto parts and an erosion of the ability of provincial governments to maintain social security measures by imposing unprecedented restrictions on transfer

payments. Finally, they have launched a direct assault on the working class, exemplified by the Tory's declared intention to hold federal public service wage increases to 9% over a three year period. The result of all these measures is the transformation of the Canadian economy into a region which will be characterized by a permanently lowered living standard, chronic unemployment and severe restrictions on social security measures.

### **The September Election (*The first labor government in one of Canada's leading industrial provinces – Ed.*)**

**Many of these consequences were already felt by the working class in Canada when the New Democratic Party was elected last September. The election of an NDP government expressed the unease that workers felt with the economic situation. The vote expressed a lack of confidence in the ability of the other big business party in Canada, the Liberal Party, to confront the Conservative Party's continentalist agenda as the main agent and spokesperson for the process of economic integration. Finally, it underlined the ability of workers to break lengthy traditional voting patterns and seek new alternatives.**

**The New Democratic Party's membership has increased by approximately ten thousand members to a level of thirty seven thousand. Many members and leaders of the New Democratic Party since that time have participated under their own banner and sometimes officially in the name of the government in a variety of extra-parliamentary protests including protests against the war in the Gulf (*Iraq*—ed.), support for the right to choose, in defence of the environment and others.**

The election of the NDP raised expectations that Ontario workers will be defended in the recession. Support for the party increased to an unprecedented percentage – in the high fifties — only a few weeks before the convention. Students, women, trade unionists, young people and social activists of every stripe have had their expectations raised by the election of the first independent labour political party in the history of Ontario.

It was in this context – a massive assault on the standard of living of the Canadian working class and high expectations that the new government would successfully defend it from this attack— that the convention of the ONDP took place March 2nd to 4th, 1991. Though the enthusiasm generated for the NDP by the Agenda for People (the name of the program upon which it was elected) had become tempered by the threatened burgeoning of Ontario's deficit to ten billion dollars and the decline of its corporate tax base, a general sense of good will and hope prevailed that the Rae government would finally be able to fulfill long-held expectations.

### **The Leadership's Role**

Both the labour wing of the bureaucracy and the political wing of the bureaucracy that dominate the New Democratic Party were well represented at the convention. The resolutions that were presented by the provincial council's resolution priorities committee, reflecting the leadership's views in various areas of concern, were very much in the tradition of classical reforms in favour of working people and contained numerous resolutions reflecting the agenda of the labour movement. These reforms included eliminating streaming of students, expanding the Ontario Health Insurance Plan to cover dental and orthodontic care, affirmative action towards employment equity, pay equity, recognition of same sex marriages and numerous others. The labour movement won a variety of "concessions" as

well: banning the use of scabs during a legal strike, increasing the minimum wage from 40% to 60% of the average industrial wage over four years, requiring all overtime rates to be paid at double time, making all overtime work voluntary, phasing in a 35-hour statutory work week within five years, requiring employers to specify dates and targets for promoting and hiring visible minorities, making labor studies part of each school's curriculum and passing legislation to establish a common pause day. Virtually all these resolutions were adopted unanimously with the backing of both the leadership and membership. These reforms, paradoxically, were adopted without reference to the sharpening class conflicts in Canada which are stripping away existing social gains and making food banks and homeless persons a permanent feature.

Nevertheless, the promise to implement these reforms was more than enough to placate the majority of almost one thousand delegates from ridings who joined more than three hundred union delegates and several hundred others at the convention to discuss the future of the party. The first convention since the NDP was elected to power six months earlier, it was one of the most tightly-controlled and bureaucratically-managed in the NDP's history. This situation was made possible and reinforced by the significant reforms and general atmosphere of high expectations generated by the election and by the leadership, both through resolutions that were prioritized and in speeches.

And there were speeches and speeches. Discussions of resolutions were so frequently interrupted by tributes and celebrations – for every conceivable excuse – that the "love-in" characterization of the convention by the media appeared not far off mark. All of this was strongly cemented by the absence of any conflicts between the political and labour wings of the bureaucracy and frequent speeches by Premier Bob Rae. When the caucus members were called forth and assembled around Bob Rae at the podium, the message was neither subtle nor subliminal: "You are in safe hands with..."

### **The Role of the Membership**

But underneath this superficial quietude of the convention, there was a stream of concern fed precisely by these high expectations, and even elements of anger and rebelliousness. The Ontario Young New Democrats, recently infused with new members and activists, led a successful fight on the floor in favour of freezing tuition fees. A motion to insure public schools hired teachers that reflect the ethnic qualities of the population was passed by the convention under strong prodding from the Black Caucus. And a Left Caucus resolution, incorporating major changes to the Human Rights Commission, was positively referred. An emergency resolution backing the federal party's opposition to the Gulf war, a resolution against free trade with Mexico and others were passed virtually unanimously. Applause greeted MP Dan Heap when he called for an expression of solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador. The omnibus labor and employment bill clearly affirmed the right to strike.

Yet the most contentious discussions did not take place. The government's retreat from its promise to cap rent increases was never permitted to be raised by the NDP establishment which stacked all the microphones with time consuming ennui to prevent discussion of the most contentious issue of the government's term to date. Efforts to raise public ownership and workers democracy were defeated on procedural points or without discussions on the merits. A move by Ontario Young New Democrats to effectively establish their autonomy by a constitutional amendment was defeated. But, perhaps most significantly, hanging like an albatross over the entire convention, was the declaration by Bob Rae, repeated ad nauseum to the convention and to the media before, during, and after the convention, that he now had "a wider responsibility to all the people of the province, many of whom – indeed, I think it's fair to say, most of whom, are not necessarily members or supporters of the NDP."

In case the message was misunderstood, party officials made it clear that they would not be bound by party policy, already ignored on certain key issues such as the promise to cap rental increases to the rate of inflation. Even the **Toronto Star** was moved to slyly describe this feat by Rae as "treating his victory more like a defeat".

The frequent speeches by Bob Rae, which the labour movement did not take issue with at this convention, made the point that an NDP government could use its strength to force the corporate elite to work together with working people to prevent the loss of jobs and plant shutdowns. This concept of tripartism -- which embraces the thinking of the current leadership of the Ontario Federation of Labor -- is the only solution that Rae has come up with to counter the Tory offensive and the continentalization and de-industrialization of Ontario's and Canada's economy. Rae undoubtedly wants to solidify his relationship with labour through the numerous reforms and resolutions passed at the convention and through his promise to use his power to force management to come to terms with workers. But this is unlikely to be sufficient to counter the severe dislocation caused by the restructuring of the economy. The transformation of the Conservative Party into a brazen U.S. surrogate reflects the growing weight of U.S. capital in Canada in contrast to weakening Canadian-owned industries, heavily penalized by the limited size of the Canadian market and comparatively high transportation and production costs, and which cannot survive long in competition with more efficient and large-scale foreign trade blocs. The reliance upon the same old shibboleths by the NDP leadership to counter this dramatically new accelerated offensive will prove entirely illusory. Yet the almost seventeen hundred delegates attending the convention went along with Rae, their expectations raised, their hopes still firm and unshattered, that the "mixed economy" solution Rae supported explicitly at the convention will block the fiercest attack working people in Canada have faced in decades.

## The Role of the Left

Notwithstanding the honeymoon with the Rae leadership an undercurrent of opposition at the convention was already evident in many ways. Delegates were distinctly unenthusiastic that their issues had to compete for attention at the convention with other important issues, though the convention somehow managed to end half an hour early and was able, for example, on its first day of session, to devote all but one hour and fifty minutes to convention formalities and constitutional discussion.

The fissures among the rank and file appeared most dramatically and fervently among the young delegates who out-mobilized and out-manipulated the leadership in a fierce floor-fight over the tuition freeze issue winning their resolution only days after the government had itself announced a tuition fee increase. While efforts by delegates to raise the issue of capping rental increases to the inflation rate were unsuccessful, many of these delegates left the convention defeated but not demoralized, and determined to carry on their fight.

The Black Advisory Caucus was successful in changing the priority of two resolutions, forcing the convention to affirm its support for resolutions calling for civilian control of police and on the Ontario Human Rights Commission. The Caucus played a vocal and active role on other issues as well and succeeded in electing two of its leaders including Lennox Farrell as a member-at-large, only 20 votes behind frontrunner party bureaucrat Michael Lewis and 80 votes ahead of CUPE President Jeff Rose. Lennox, who was endorsed by the Left Caucus ran on a program emphasizing affirmative action for minorities, anti-racism, anti-colonialism and for socialist measures.

The Left Caucus ran Harry Kopyto for member-at-large on a slate which emphasized an

eight point program including the need for socialist measures to combat de-industrialization. In favour of rooting the party within the activist movements, the program included calls for social justice for all, support for NDP municipal campaigns, the establishment of a labour-socialist press, immediate environmental action, support for an independent and dynamic youth section and affordable and available quality housing. Over thirteen percent of the delegates voted to elect Harry Kopyto on a program which explicitly called for public ownership and represented a direct affront to the illusions of the NDP leadership on economic issues. In the context of a heavily manipulated convention and a generalized campaign not to rock the boat or embarrass the government, the decision of one out of every eight delegates to endorse the Left Caucus program showed that there was a hard core of militant socialists who were prepared to take the leadership on despite all the hoopla. Over 100 delegates publicly endorsed Kopyto's candidacy, many of them youth and students who were in open rebellion against the leadership, visible minority members and workers. Kopyto's direct challenge to Rae at the microphones to implement the program on reforming the human rights commission whatever the cost received support and applause from many riding delegates.

The Left Caucus played a dynamic role in the convention circulating eight different items of literature including two leaflets in support of Kopyto, two in support of Lennox Farrell, the Left Caucus Newsletter, a leaflet indicating resolutions supported by the Left – over six thousand leaflets in all.

Without an atmosphere of polarization or a spirit of combativity at the convention, the Left Caucus meetings were generally modest in size. Still, contacts were either made or solidified with activists in the tenants' movement, the Ontario Young New Democrats, the Black Caucus and with rank and file riding activists. Several of the resolutions adopted at the convention were written by Left Caucus members or with their support. The openness with which the left operated in the convention, intervening frequently in numerous debates and circulating its literature aggressively was, in some respects, quite unique. There was clearly a residual feeling that the leadership of the party had to reflect some fresh blood from the rank and file. Numerous votes for various executive positions indicated that such activists were able to garner as much as twenty five and thirty percent of the vote in campaigns which pitted them against established party figures.

## **WHERE NOW?**

**The convention affirmed the labor character of the party clearly and emphatically, symbolized by the election of Julie Davis from the Ontario Federation of Labor as President. It affirmed the resiliency of the Party, showing how the broad social movements — youth and Blacks, for example — were able to win concessions through their militancy, determination and organization.**

**It showed that the NDP continues to be organically linked to the movements of working people whatever the vacillations of the leadership on this or that issue, whatever political myopia it may exhibit at any given moment. The convention confirmed the correctness of the perspective of the Left Caucus – that the NDP remains the area where the different social forces on the left can contend for a hearing, where the possibilities of developing socialist consciousness and awareness remains real and where allies from different struggle can unite in a common struggle.**

If it can be said that support for the left was limited by the leadership's willingness to embrace significant reforms and solidarize itself with the labour movement, these moves by the leadership also tended to circumvent its ability to retreat from these positions. The high expectations generated among the delegates by the leadership, soon to be transmitted by the

delegates to the membership, will not be easy to dissipate. This will be especially true in the coming showdown between the economic elite using the Conservative Party to transfer whatever remains of Canada's resources to the transcontinental corporations and the working people in this country who are seeing their plants close, their jobs disappear, and their social services wither.

What will happen if the leadership fails to honour its promises? What will happen if the leadership is unable to fulfill its promises? What will happen if the tripartist determination of the NDP government fails to make workers and bosses collaborate in running the store? What if jobs keep disappearing notwithstanding Bob Rae's tough guy stance?

We have already seen the beginning of dissent. The role of the left in the future is to continue to root itself in the activities of the party, in the riding associations, to assume responsibility by accepting executive positions, to become involved in the various activities, the anti-war, anti-racist, anti-sexist and environmental movements which have been a source of recruitment and growth for the party.

Even more, the task before the Left Caucus is to initiate broad open discussions needed to direct the party in the coming period which will see the intensification of the class struggle. A showdown is on the horizon. The survival of Canada is at stake. Workers who are being hammered by plant shutdowns, cutbacks and wage freezes will not be patient forever. The task of the Left Caucus must centre on stemming any disaffection which might come from those who may become disheartened by the failure of the NDP to succeed in its tripartite approaches. A social solution based on a vision of an economic plan managed in the interests of working people and designed to restructure Canada's economic infrastructure is needed. A plan which builds on public ownership of our resources and the full utilization of our highly skilled working class is the only vision that can counter the unmitigated attack on the standard of living of Canadians being pursued by the Tories.

Canada is in the midst of a growing constitutional crisis as well as an economic crisis. The interrelatedness of these two crises has put on the agenda for Canadian working people the need for an independent and socialist Canada on a more urgent basis than ever before. If the future shows that the liberal reformism of the present NDP leadership cannot meet the challenge from Mulroney, the party will have to return to the principles of socialist democracy. The realization will dawn that socialism is no longer a fanciful dream. It is the only solution to the burning issues of the day.

*(end)*

*(Note: the Mulroney government suffered a big defeat in the federal election of 1993, shortly after Mulroney himself was forced to resign in the face of several scandals. His successor Kim Campbell, after a record short time in power, then suffered the worst electoral disaster in Canadian history –Ed.)*

# Left Caucus Newsletter

June-July 1991  
Vol. 3 No. 3



shed by the Steering  
Committee of the  
ONDp Left Caucus  
Station M, Box 107  
Toronto, Ont. M6S 4T2

## Left Caucus program at the Ontario NDP convention

*At the March 1991 Convention of the Ontario NDP, the Left Caucus supported two candidates for Provincial Executive. The ONDP Left Caucus ran Member-at-Large candidate Harry Kopyto on the following program:*

### For an Independent and Socialist Canada

Ontario is sliding into an extended recession and de-industrialization of the economy — the result of the Free Trade Agreement and a high interest (low dollar) policy designed to benefit continental corporations. The continentalization of the North American economy into a single free trade region, soon likely to include Mexico, is already draining away our best paying and highly skilled jobs in industries such as steel and auto parts. It is eroding the ability of governments to maintain social security measures. The recession is hurting the most vulnerable in our midst: youth and the old, women and minorities, tenants and students, the poor and the disabled. Businesses close their doors. Welfare rolls swell. The jobless walk the streets. Even wealthy Toronto has depression-style food banks and thousands of homeless. Yet the NDP holds provincial power for the first time in history, carrying the hopes and expectations of the people who elected us to protect them in this crisis of an uncaring capitalist system.

In the era of trade blocs and fierce trade competition, capitalism is leading us to permanently lowered living standards and chronic unemployment. Which road will lead us out of this morass? The Left Caucus believes that the current economic crisis calls for a bold initiative towards socialism, a democratic plan to take hold of our economic base before it is too late, and preserve what wealth still remains through a dynamic public planned economy. Then we can begin to keep the promises which won us power and maintain the credibility needed to make us the party of the future.

### Socialist Measures to Combat De-industrialization and Unemployment

- For public ownership of businesses that are threatened by de-industrialization and recession.
- Give workers the option to co-own and manage runaway plants in cooperation with public authorities.
- For a strong public presence in the financial sector to allow government to implement low-cost credit.
- Establish workplace democracy through workers' self-management in crown and government corporations.

### Social Justice for All!

- For a fully funded Human Rights Commission, accountable to those it is designed to protect and for the legalization of the right to sue for discrimination.
- For affirmative action programs and training to permit disabled persons, women, Natives and people of color

proportionate representation at senior levels of administration in all government institutions.

- For an independent civilian board to investigate and review allegations of police abuse.
- For public participation in control of the legal profession to stop preferential treatment in favor of establishment lawyers (Lang/Michener, Outerbridge) and suppression of critically-minded lawyers (Kopyto, Codina).

### For an Activist Party!

- For a party which recruits activists from the women's, antiwar, environmental, and anti-racist movements.
- For participation in these movements as New Democrats and building the NDP as the feminist, antiwar, anti-racist and environmentalist party of Ontario.
- For a strategy which combines support for the social movements with a strategy to win labor to power.

### Support for NDP Municipal Campaigns!

- Encourage full NDP label municipal slates in cities and towns across Ontario.
- Support NDP mayoralty candidates to promote the concept of labor to power at the municipal level.

### For a Labor-Socialist Press!

- Open up the Ontario Democrat to contributions from all the ridings and increase frequency of publication as a means of developing an informed and motivated grassroots party.
- Promote a public mass labor paper that challenges the monopoly of the Big Business press.

### Environmental Action Now!

- Expropriate chronic corporate polluters.
- Allow workers to control health and safety issues on the shop floor.

### For an Independent and Dynamic Youth Section!

- For a dynamic, autonomous youth movement which has the resources to win youth to the party.
- For Young New Democrats clubs in universities and high schools throughout Ontario.
- For a strong youth movement that can energize and inspire the party.

### For Affordable and Plentiful Quality Housing!

- Keep the promise to cap rental increases to the rate of inflation.
- For mass, public housing projects under residents' control to fight homelessness and poverty.

*The NDP stands at a crossroads. If the landlords can invest thousands of dollars to tell New York bankers not to invest in Ontario in order to get the laws which they want to get passed, the NDP must be really committed to stand by the program which allowed it to win power. Socialism is no longer just a desirable idea. It is the solution to meet the burning crisis of our times. If we do not act now, there will be nothing left to save.*

## **FORMATION SOCIALISTE**

### **Base des idées communistes**

*Cette brochure fut écrit par la Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (de France) en 2000.*

#### **TABLE DES MATIERES**

1) Les classes sociales .....
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#### **1) Les classes sociales**

Dans la société actuelle, on peut diviser la population en deux grandes catégories:

– La classe ouvrière est formée de tous les travailleurs manuels ou intellectuels, avec ou sans emploi, qui n'ont pour seule richesse que leur force de travail. Ils ne possèdent pas leur outil de travail, ni de capitaux, ni d'entreprise, ni de commerce. Ils vivent en vendant leur force de travail. Cette catégorie est appelée aussi: le prolétariat.

Remarque: Certains salariés de l'industrie, comme les ingénieurs ou les cadres ne possèdent pas non plus leur outil de travail. Mais leurs salaires et leurs fonctions dans les entreprises les rangent bien plus souvent dans le camp des patrons que dans celui des prolétaires.

– La bourgeoisie rassemble tous les patrons, les rentiers, les commerçants, les propriétaires terriens et immobiliers. Il faut distinguer dans la bourgeoisie différents niveaux en fonction de la richesse et du capital. Le rôle et les intérêts

d'un petit commerçant, d'un petit patron et d'un grand patron de l'industrie ne sont pas exactement les mêmes sur tout les plans. Ce sont les grandes fortunes industrielles et les entreprises multinationales, qui concentrent entre leurs mains le pouvoir économique.

- De la petite à la grande bourgeoisie, ils ont tous en commun de vivre de l'exploitation du travail des autres. Les uns exploitent directement leur personnel dans leur entreprise (petite ou grande), les autres récupèrent les salaires et font des bénéfices, en vendant (ou en louant) aux travailleurs les produits, logements et services dont ils ont besoin pour vivre.
- Cette classe qui possède les richesses matérielles (usines, mines, immeubles, terres, moyens de communication) et financières s'appelle aussi: classe capitaliste.

## 2) Lutte des classes et conscience de classe

A toutes les époques des classes sociales dominantes se sont approprié les richesses et ont exploité le travail d'autres classes qui leur étaient soumises.

Exemple : Les esclaves et leurs maîtres dans l'Antiquité. Les serfs et leurs seigneurs au Moyen âge. Bien sûr la façon d'imposer la domination a changé mais depuis le début de l'époque industrielle, la bourgeoisie dominante exploite le travail de la classe ouvrière. Cette exploitation d'une couche de la société se fait avec des heurts et des conflits. Les luttes élémentaires de la classe des salariés se font autour de trois revendications :

- \* L'augmentation des salaires
- \* La diminution du temps de travail sans perte de salaires.
- \* La libre organisation des travailleurs

Ce dernier point est très important. Dans le système capitaliste, peu importe l'être humain: un travailleur est une marchandise qui doit se vendre pour pouvoir gagner sa vie. Sur le marché du travail et dans l'entreprise les travailleurs sont en concurrence selon les règles du jeu capitaliste.

En divisant les salariés, en jouant sur la crainte du chômage, les patrons peuvent imposer les conditions d'embauche les plus défavorables pour les travailleurs: baisse des salaires, horaires pénibles, cadences rapides, conditions de travail difficiles, dangereuses ou insalubres...

L'organisation des travailleurs en syndicat, en parti politique, leur permet de briser leur isolement face à leur employeur. L'action collective et la solidarité des travailleurs entre eux montrent la conscience qu'ils ont de leurs propres intérêts face aux patrons qui défendent les leurs. Cette conscience et une conscience de classe. La bourgeoisie a, elle aussi, une conscience de ses intérêts, elle a aussi sa propre conscience de classe.

La lutte des classes c'est le conflit d'intérêts permanent qu'il y a entre la classe ouvrière et la classe capitaliste.

### **3) L'exploitation, la plus-value**

L'exploitation n'est pas un mot en l'air. Lorsqu'un salarié travaille il produit des richesses (matérielles ou des services). Les richesses qu'il produit sont supérieures à son salaire. L'écart qu'il y a entre le salaire et les richesses produites, c'est de l'argent que le patron a gagné sur le dos de son employé. Cet écart s'appelle la plus-value, elle représente une part de travail non-payé par le patron. L'exploitation se trouve dans cet échange travail contre salaire totalement défavorable au salarié. De son point de vue, le patron trouve cela normal.

Le seul objectif de cette exploitation est la recherche du profit. Dans la concurrence féroce que se livrent les entreprises, pas de considérations humanistes, pas de scrupules; il faut réaliser les bénéfices maximum même si pour cela il faut:

- Faire travailler des gens la nuit.
- Mettre au chômage des millions de travailleurs.
- Augmenter les cadences de travail et les risques.
- Faire travailler des gens 12 heures par jour ou des enfants, dans les pays où le Droit du Travail est inexistant.

### **4) Le rôle de l'Etat**

La bourgeoisie domine parce qu'elle a l'argent et le pouvoir économique. Elle possède aussi la plupart des grands moyens de communication, journaux, chaînes de télévision, radios pour faire passer ses idées.

La majorité des politiciens est issue de la bourgeoisie, ils organisent l'Etat, ses lois, sa justice, son armée et sa police en fonction des intérêts du patronat et de la finance.

Les lois dépendent la propriété privée des moyens de production. Dans les conflits sociaux, les travailleurs se retrouvent souvent face aux forces de police ou face à l'armée (garde mobile). Plus les conflits sont durs et plus la répression est intense, même dans les systèmes démocratiques, les périodes de paix passagères et lorsqu'il y a danger pour sa domination, crise économique, sociale et politique, l'Etat bourgeois n'hésite jamais à employer tous les moyens pour assurer sa survie.

## **5) L'internationalisme**

Le système capitaliste est mondial. Il s'impose sur la quasi-totalité de la planète aussi bien dans les démocraties d'Europe que dans les dictatures du tiers-monde. L'exploitation est plus ou moins dure en fonction de la résistance du mouvement ouvrier et des acquis sociaux et démocratiques obtenus dans les différents pays. Mais en France, au Japon, au Sénégal ou au Brésil, l'exploitation a la même logique: faire le maximum de profit.

Les entreprises multinationales se servent des différences de salaires, et des droits sociaux entre les deux pays, pour mettre en concurrence les travailleurs des différents pays. Comme ils le font à l'intérieur d'un pays en jouant sur le chômage mais aussi en utilisant le racisme pour diviser les salariés entre eux.

Face à une exploitation mondialisée, les travailleurs ont les mêmes intérêts d'un bout à l'autre de la planète. Il est donc nécessaire de construire un mouvement international des travailleurs.

## **6) Les acquis sociaux**

En France, tous les acquis sociaux et démocratiques que le patronat remet perpétuellement en cause sont le résultat de plus d'un siècle de lutte de la classe ouvrière.

Sécurité sociale, réduction du temps de travail, convention collective, droit de se syndiquer, droit de grève, droit du travail, congés payés, salaire minimum garanti, assurance chômage, interdiction du travail des enfants...

Ce sont nos acquis, nos droits, nous devons les défendre.

## 7) La lutte politique

Les travailleurs souffrent dans la société capitaliste. Une partie s'épuise ou s'ennuie au travail, une autre partie est privée de travail et survit de plus en plus difficilement. Le patronat s'attaque avec constance à tous les acquis sociaux, instaurant la précarité, les bas salaires et l'absence de couverture sociale comme règle de survie pour les salariés et les nombreux chômeurs.

Au niveau des entreprises les travailleurs s'organisent syndicalement pour défendre leurs intérêts. Mais la lutte ne s'arrête pas aux portes de l'entreprise. Il faut s'organiser pour défendre politiquement les intérêts de la classe ouvrière.

\* Le système capitaliste profite à une minorité de riches. Il est basé sur l'inégalité et l'injustice sociale, il est responsable de la misère qu'il fait naître dans le monde.

\* L'organisation de l'économie doit être entre les mains des travailleurs. Son objectif doit être la collaboration et le travail de tous pour la satisfaction des besoins de la société.

\* La propriété privée des moyens de production, la concurrence et la recherche du profit doivent être supprimées.

\* Pour les supprimer il faut changer radicalement la société afin d'obtenir: l'égalité sociale, l'égalité homme-femme, la démocratie dans l'entreprise et dans toutes les sphères de la vie quotidienne. Ce changement profond nous l'appelons: Révolution. Les idées communistes ne sont pas faites pour s'endormir dessus, ce sont des idées pour réfléchir, mais ce sont aussi et surtout des idées pour agir.

